

**ANTIOCH IN
THE MEDIEVAL EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN**

I

**ANTIOCH FROM THE BYZANTINE RECONQUEST
UNTIL THE END OF THE CRUSADER PRINCIPALITY**

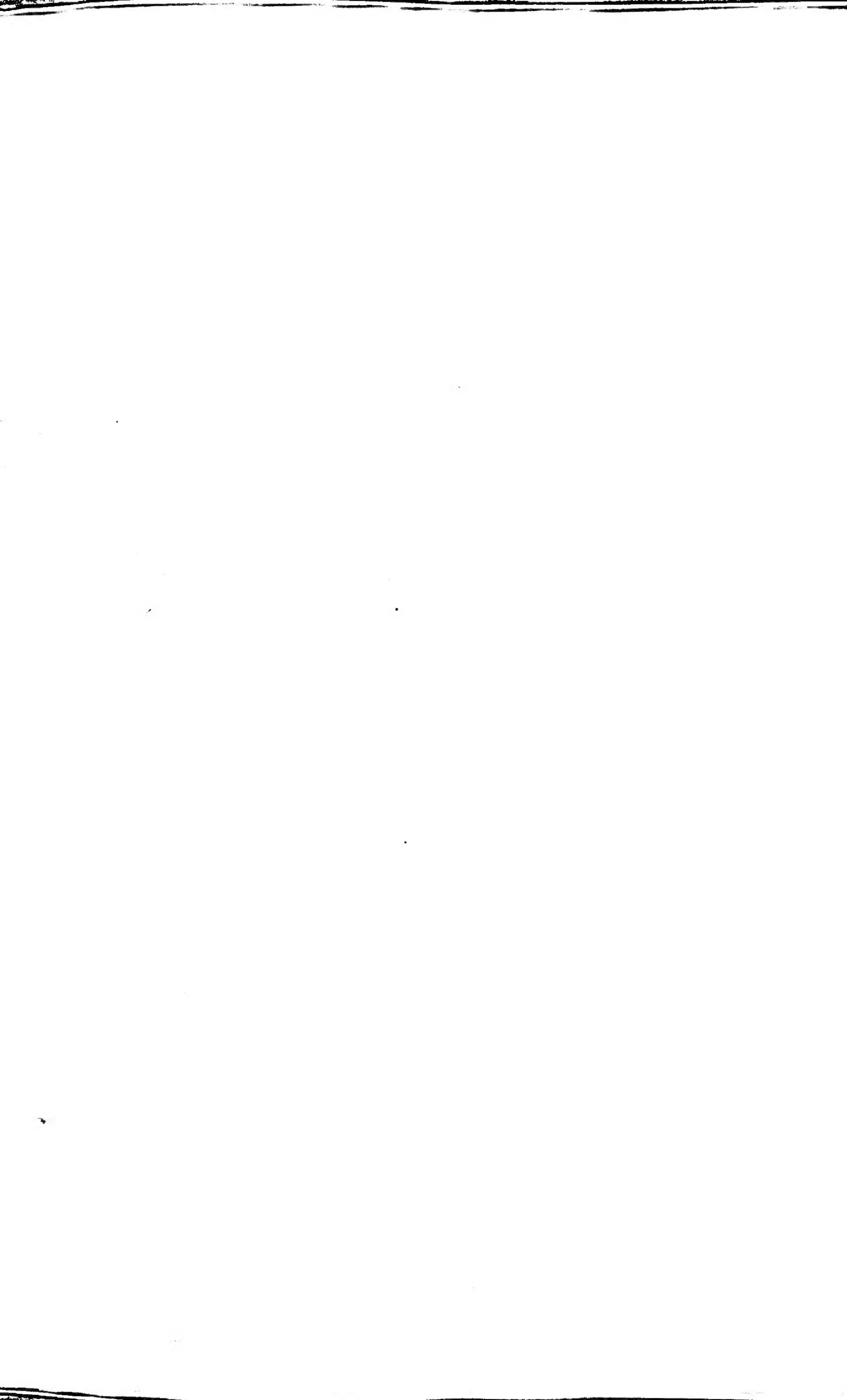
edited by

K. CIGGAAR and M. METCALF

A.A. BREDIUS FOUNDATION

PEETERS







EAST AND WEST
IN THE MEDIEVAL EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

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Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until
the End of the Crusader Principality

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA

— 147 —

EAST AND WEST
IN THE MEDIEVAL EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN

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ANTIOCH FROM THE BYZANTINE RECONQUEST UNTIL
THE END OF THE CRUSADER PRINCIPALITY

Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in May 2003

edited by

K. CIGGAAR and M. METCALF

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FOREWORD

Claude Cahen's book on crusader Antioch cast a long shadow. That is something that can happen, when an outstandingly thorough monograph seemingly leaves little more to be said. Decades may pass, before scholars begin to feel an impulse to return to the topic. Meanwhile, the whole style of a field of enquiry may gradually move on. The long shadow fell even on the Wisconsin *History of the Crusades*, which still seeks, essentially, to stitch the written sources together into traditional narrative history, only to do it better. The oriental sources have been rather more fully exploited; and the inter-connectedness of events in Antioch, in Tripoli, and in the Latin Kingdom has been brought much more into the foreground. But topics such as architecture, or coins, are optional extras, treated separately and not much integrated into the whole picture. They could indeed be called 'the icing on the cake' of the Wisconsin *History*.

A year-by-year, step-by-step analysis of political and military developments is indeed the essential groundwork of most medieval history. The sheer cussedness of events too often had its part in determining decisions. It was ever the task of diplomacy to cope with difficulties that did not come singly. But high politics was not the whole of life; and charters and texts are not the only witnesses to that life. Even if politicians are inclined to ride rough-shod over it, there is such a thing as society. Social and economic life has its own momentum and its own continuity. Ordinary people collectively, over the generations, work out how best to contend with the constraints of the places where they live, and how to make a good life for themselves. The moral and spiritual aspects of life deserve historical study, and impose new historical disciplines. Crusades studies have become more inter-disciplinary, and less monolithic.

That new style is fully reflected in the range and variety of the papers printed in this volume. They arise from a meeting held in May 2003 in the agreeable setting of the castle of Hernen, the Netherlands, the seat of the A.A. Bredius Foundation, as part of a series of symposiums devoted to cultural and other contacts between East and West, in the time of the Crusader States. Our symposium was tightly focussed on Antioch — but

with a difference. The limiting dates were 969 and 1268. In other words, we included the Byzantine duchy of Antioch in our considerations, as well as the crusader principality which superseded it. Comparisons and contrasts between the two are potentially a very useful source of new ideas and insights, especially perhaps for the historians of the crusades.

Professor Cheynet provided the prologue to our discussions, by giving us a historian's general assessment of the Byzantine duchy, from the reconquest of the city until the First Crusade (or until the slightly earlier Seljuq occupation). The boundaries of the Frankish state which Bohemond wrested from the Empire corresponded closely with those of the eleventh-century duchy, at least for the first few decades, and until Cilician Armenia was lost to it. It was an enormous domain.

Evidence from the Byzantine period, in particular the evidence of lead seals, offers a forceful reminder to historians of the crusades, of the vast extent and also of the geographical complexity of the area. Antioch was by no means a solitary metropolis set in rural or mountainous landscape. The city itself was indeed the greatest fortress of the region, with a large garrison, but the duchy comprised more than a dozen themes, each with its strategos and other administrative officials, and each with well-defended fortifications. There were also numerous minor fortresses. The political and administrative character of the duchy was very much coloured by its military aspects. And the need for military preparedness, in face of the Fatimid threat to the duchy's territories, did not disappear overnight when Antioch passed under Frankish control. Urbanism, of a sort, no doubt remained widespread, even if the sources from the crusader period offer fewer specific details of the numerous smaller places.

Having established the context, Professor Cheynet went on to examine the governance of Antioch. Here, the change from being a province or group of provinces of a great empire, to becoming an independent state means that there are fewer obvious analogies for the crusader historian. Under the duchy, in both the civil and the ecclesiastical sphere, choices were made by the emperor, with particular care taken in the appointment of the *doux*, and of the *strategoi* who headed the administration of their themes. At a slightly lower level, there was much more reliance on the local aristocracy — who were familiar with the realities of power in their districts. Somewhat similar practices applied in church appointments, where the situation was complicated by religious

diversity. The balance between the monophysites, adhering to the Jacobite patriarchate (a majority of the duchy's Christian population), and the orthodox Chalcedonians of the Melkite patriarchate was, for the most part, peaceable. The hold of the central government over its Syrian frontier regions was thus secure enough as regards internal loyalties: Antioch was not a special case in threatening dissidence or separatism.

Dr Saminsky's paper, also, focusses on the period of the Byzantine duchy, and specifically on the second half of the eleventh century. He succeeds in attributing to Antioch and its vicinity a number of Greek illuminated manuscripts which, although they were once thought to be from the imperial scriptorium in Constantinople, and to be from the mid- or late thirteenth century (!), have in recent decades been reattributed to Cyprus or Palestine. This stylistic grouping grew in the hands of various scholars until it included almost everything known from the period — more than a hundred manuscripts, and yet only three of them offered any written evidence to support the possibility of a Cypriot or Palestinian origin. The consensus had begun to seem vaguely ridiculous. Dr Saminsky pricks the bubble, pointing out that the great city of Antioch remained, rather implausibly, a blank on this map. A big part of the problem is that both the scribes, and the *maestri* who illuminated the manuscripts (not necessarily one and the same) could be peripatetic. Constantinopolitan artists might travel to and work in the provinces, where their oeuvre might be admired and imitated; and likewise a local artist might move to another province, taking his skills and his recognizable style with him, and working there too. This degree of latitude made almost any broad hypothesis unfalsifiable. Incontrovertible proof of the place of origin of a manuscript can, in these circumstances, come only from an informative colophon — of which there are extremely few.

Dr Saminsky anchors his proof of Antiochene origins by beginning, not from Greek, but from some Georgian manuscripts with colophons which connect them with monastic houses in the vicinity of Antioch. He explains that there was a Greco-Georgian cultural environment there precisely because, from the days of the pentarchy, the Georgian church had been dependent on the patriarchate of Antioch, and because the link was revived after 969, when the idea of the pentarchy was renewed. In the eleventh century, a number of Georgian monasteries grew up around the city of Antioch; and also there were Georgian brethren in

the Greek Monastery of St Symeon the Younger. It was within these various Syrian monasteries that a Georgian literary tradition developed.

Dr Saminsky then proceeds to the delicate and difficult task of the art-historical assessment of similarities of style and content, between the Georgian manuscripts with colophons, and various Greek manuscripts (without). This is noble work, fit only for an experienced scholar with a trained eye. Dr Saminsky identifies a distinctive style in the Alaverdi Gospel, which was written in 1054, and, step by step, he reaches out, more and more widely, to agglomerate a group of Greek manuscripts which can be considered Antiochene. The miniatures in them exemplify local tradition, which was independent and yet open to Constantinopolitan influences. It may perhaps be traced through as far as the beginning of the thirteenth century, although its heyday was in the late eleventh.

Professor Weitenberg is also concerned with the interaction of Armenian, Syrian, and other monastic communities in the Black Mountain and in the area northwards as far as Maraş. Building on Thierry's *Répertoire des monastères*, he subjects the Armenian sources, wherever they mention monasteries in the Black Mountain area, to critical scrutiny, relying especially on colophons.

Monks of different ethnic origins might live in the same religious house, and their friendship is part of the context for cultural contacts. But for us, the translation of texts from one language into another, e.g. from Greek or Syrian into Armenian, is a crucial form of cultural interaction, about which we can hope to have evidence. Professor Weitenberg cites examples of the enthusiasm of monks who succeeded in locating a copy of some rare and cherished work, and undertaking its translation. Nersēs of Lampron (1153/4-1198) even translated the Rule of St Benedict, and Gregory's Life of Benedict, from the Latin, with the help of a Frankish monk in Antioch. Professor Weitenberg also draws attention to two 'genealogies' of Armenian scholars and ecclesiastics, i.e. learned men and the pupils who, all their lives, remembered with gratitude their 'fathers in scholarship'.

The schism which, unhealed for many centuries, left Antioch with two patriarchs (or, after the Latin conquest, three) meant that part of the Arabic-speaking population of Syria belonged to a church using an Aramaic liturgy, monophysite rather than Chalcedonian in faith, and owing

allegiance to a patriarch who was exiled from the imperial city. These West Syrian or Syriac Orthodox Christians, otherwise referred to as Jacobites, are studied by Dr Dorothea Weltecke. She offers a reconsideration of the view expressed by Claude Cahen that, having no nobility and having no military or administrative élite, they were essentially among the lower classes, namely the small people in the cities and the peasants in the countryside. Their only leaders were their clergy. Westerners had some difficulty in distinguishing the Arabic-speaking Orthodox or Melkite *Suriani* from the Syriac Jacobites, and their confusion carries over to some extent into the sources (which are in any case exiguous). Dr Weltecke gives a more nuanced interpretation, showing that although the Syriac Orthodox were only a minor constituent in the population of the city of Antioch, they seem elsewhere in the principality, e.g. in Adana, to have been preponderant in the community. Something similar was true in Tripoli. She also reopens the discussion of the church of Mōr Baršawmō, consecrated in 1156, pointing out the shifting alliances between Latin Christians, Armenians, and the disadvantaged Syrians.

Professor Aerts draws attention to a passage in the *Taktikon* of the Melkite theologian, Nikon of the Black Mountain, who may actually have witnessed the presence of the First Crusade at Antioch. As he died in c. 1100, this is just possible. Although Nikon does not refer specifically to their coming, he has a story about the Georgians: Symeon the Thaumaturge saw crusaders from the East, who came to his monastery. The word used, σταυροφόροι, normally refers to crusaders from the West. In another λόγος he uses the phrase, 'since the people of the Franks are on campaign'. It is possible that this reflects an awareness of the First Crusade.

Among the ecclesiastical changes which followed upon the end of the Empire was a very big reduction in the number of dioceses, when a hierarchy using the Latin rite was imposed in place of the existing rite of the patriarchate of Antioch. Professor Hamilton reminds us that within the provinces and dioceses of the patriarchate there had been 153 cathedral churches — the same number, it was noted at the time, as the miraculous draft of fishes described in John's gospel. Jacques de Vitry commented that because there were so many Syrian and Greek bishops, and because they were impoverished, the Latins grouped the sees together, subjecting numerous of the existing cathedral churches and cities to a single new

cathedral. Professor Hamilton, in a comprehensive historical survey of the creation of the new sees, detects more exactly an ulterior motive on the part of the Frankish rulers. They expected their bishops to be men of action as well as men of God, helping to govern and to defend the principality — by arms if need be. To that end the new, larger dioceses sometimes had a strategic or defensive location. Thus Artah (not previously a diocesan see) guarded the route from Aleppo towards Antioch; and Maraş guarded the northern approaches. The Latin bishops were endowed with resources accordingly.

Within half a century, the new ideas had been implemented, and the area belonging to the historic patriarchate (shorn of those sees, namely Tyre, Beirut, Sidon, and Acre, which now lay within the Latin Kingdom) had been divided between only seventeen dioceses. Even that number may give an exaggerated idea, as the much smaller total covered Cilicia, Edessa, and the Frankish county of Tripoli. By the middle of the twelfth century, Cilicia and Edessa had been lost, and the number of sees within the principality of Antioch itself was small indeed.

Professor Hamilton points out that there was a need also for considerable numbers of assistant clergy. Able priests recruited in the West could hope for rapid preferment, especially if they were kinsmen of bishops or nobles already in the East. Each of the new cathedrals required an archdeacon and a chapter of canons. Thus there was a strong demand, especially in the first three or four decades, for suitable men 'duly qualified to serve God in church and state'. This demand was augmented by the need to find priests of the Western rite to serve Latin churches in the cities, and others to be chaplains to the ruler and to all the various secular lords.

Dr Clara ten Hacken offers a translation of part of an Arabic manuscript, written in various stages in the period *c.* 1160-1220 by various writers, but now generally referred to as a *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*, by Abū al-Makārim. The sections dealing with Antioch and its vicinity (which she translates) contain a miscellany of information referring to events in the history of the city, and to its churches, relics, fortifications, and gateways, and water supply. Much of the information refers to biblical and to classical times. Dr Ten Hacken provides a critical study of the manuscript sources and their study by various scholars.

Professor Burgtorf reviews the available evidence for the activity of the military orders within the principality. More has survived about the Hospitallers than about the Templars (whose central archives no longer exist). It is clear, nevertheless, that both the major orders were intricately engaged in the region. The Hospitallers were first on the scene, having already acquired much property in the principality by 1118. In 1127 they were exempted from all taxation on their holdings. The Templars were involved in the protection of the northern borders from as early as the 1130s. The castle of Gaston was assigned to them in 1153, and they also came to hold other fortresses in the (northerly) Amanus Mountains. The Hospitallers were not granted the castle of Margat until 1187, when the defeat at Haṭṭin opened a new chapter in the history of the principality.

Professor Burgtorf shows that the Templar commander of the land of Antioch was an official of extremely high status within the order as a whole — much grander than the Hospitaller commander of Antioch, who was out-ranked (after 1187) by the castellan of Margat. New and improved lists of the holders of the chief offices refer mostly to the thirteenth century. In the power struggle between Bohemond IV and Raymond-Roupen, the latter favoured the Hospitallers, and was hostile to the Templars, whose northern fortresses stood between him and Antioch. Gaston fell into his hands in *c.* 1188, and was not recovered by the Templars until *c.* 1215.

Dr Susan Edgington addresses the question how the cosmopolitan intellectual life of Antioch could have persisted through the transfer of sovereignty from Byzantines to Franks, given the wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants of the city, of all races, during its capture in 1098, when 10,000 are reputed to have been massacred. Already at the time of the earthquake of 1114, Antioch had recovered to the extent that Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, and (no doubt) Jews were living there. The Norman dynasty which ruled this multicultural diversity had come to the East familiar already with Greeks, Muslims, and Latins living together in Sicily.

The Genoese, the Amalfitans, and the Pisans all had quarters in Antioch. Nor were their interests purely mercantile. Pisa, in particular, mediated translations into Latin of Arabic and Greek texts on medicine, theology, and politics. By the early thirteenth century, however, Antioch had ceased to be a centre of international scholarship.

Dr Edgington draws attention to a string of disruptive natural events in the 1170s and 1180s which certainly damaged the city's prosperity, and which may have been a turning-point, stunting its cosmopolitan culture. There was another major earthquake; a four-year famine at the beginning of the 1170s; a severe drought in 1176; a major flood in 1178; fire in 1179; and disease. Evidence to show whether Antioch was much able to recover from all these calamities is lacking. Political events, however, were soon to deliver even more damaging blows. In the thirteenth century, Antioch remained linguistically diverse, but from its earlier high status (which had been made possible by prosperity) it sank into cultural isolation.

Dr Krijnie Ciggaar draws on the memoirs of Usāmah ibn Munqidh, written in the third quarter of the twelfth century or thereabouts, to illustrate ways in which the Franks of the first generation, who had by then lived in Outremer for a good many years, had become accustomed to an Eastern life-style (suited to the climate), and accordingly were socially more acceptable to Muslims than brash newcomers from the West tended to be. Usāmah emphasizes the avoidance of pork, and general cleanliness in food preparation.

There are also stories about Western knights visiting the bathhouse accompanied by their daughters. Mixed bathing was scandalous to the Muslims, as crossing boundaries of sexual propriety. For the Byzantine population, use of the public baths (of which there were many in Antioch) was a normal and pleasurable part of everyday life, as it was also for the Muslims, for whom there were additionally religious reasons for bathing. Visitors were favourably impressed to know that the patriarch of Antioch each year arranged for lepers to be bathed, and himself washed their hair. Other mighty lords performed similar humble services for the poor. These were mitigating acts. The Franks in general, particularly the newly-arrived Franks, were perceived as 'the great unwashed'; but with time they tended to adopt Syrian ways, and came to appreciate frequent baths, especially warm, scented baths, as a pleasant luxury.

Dr Ciggaar also explores the social significance of beards, which were worn by both Muslims and (Orthodox) Christians in Syria. The Western tradition, by contrast, was to be clean-shaven. This was widely seen as a mark of ethnic identity and (in the eyes of the Greek Orthodox) a deplorable custom. The early rulers of Frankish Antioch, coming

from a multicultural background in Norman Sicily, wore beards. In other ways, too, they had assimilated Byzantine social customs.

Professor Metcalf examines half-a-dozen episodes in the monetary history of Antioch, spanning the entire period 969-1268. His concern is to put the numismatic evidence for monetary history into a long perspective, particularly as regards the scale of the currency. He argues that, when it was reconquered in 969, Antioch was not, and did not quickly become, a thriving province. The volume of use of copper (i.e. low-value) coinage built up only gradually over several decades. There seems, moreover, to have been some sort of recession in the 1040s and 1050s.

The strange coins issued by the Seljuks during their occupation of Antioch (1085-1098) were restricted, so far as we know, to a low-value copper denomination — as were the earliest issues of the Frankish princes, up until the 1120s. It seems that the Seljuk coppers continued to circulate after the Frankish conquest, for they are regularly found in Corinth.

Prince Raymond of Poitiers introduced Western-style silver deniers. This implies the availability of silver stocks, and raises the question of their source. The date when the deniers were first struck is debateable, but it is likely to have been well before the arrival of King Louis VII in Antioch in 1148 (with silver in his baggage-train?). The long series of issues of silver or billon deniers was continued throughout the reign of Bohemond III, and into that of Bohemond IV. This Antiochene coinage was a 'strong' currency, minted in very large quantities, and remarkably free from debasement or weight-reduction. That, and the (long) age-structure of the known hoards, are evidence of flourishing inter-regional trade, and of a favourable balance of payments. The defeat at the Horns of Hattin (1187) inflicted severe damage on the monetary economy.

Unlike the Latin Kingdom and the county of Tripoli, Antioch seems not to have taken any part in the minting of crusader gold bezants. That may have been partly because of a general tendency towards monometallism. Bezants minted further south would no doubt have been acceptable currency within the principality. Evidence that they were used there could, in the nature of the case, come only from hoards discovered in Antiochene territory. There are few such; but the Lattaqiyah hoard,

concealed very soon after 1187, is an important example, which may still hold some secrets about the monetary affairs of Antioch.

Dr Tasha Vorderstrasse gives a thorough bibliographical survey of the crusader archaeology of Antioch and of eight or nine sites in the surrounding region, including the port of al-Mina, the crusaders' Port St Symeon. She rightly emphasizes the paucity of the evidence, other than that of Port St Symeon ware, and of the finds of coins (which she reserves for future publication). The proportions of Port St Symeon ware vary widely from site to site, but unfortunately the archaeological record is obscure, e.g. because the sherds were not counted in categories and because only some of the material was retained. It seems that the inhabitants of the Antioch region also used imported Byzantine pottery, and also Muslim-produced Raqqa frit ware, particularly a variety with a turquoise-blue glaze. While admittedly the crusader period was not the main focus of interest of the major excavations conducted before 1939, much of it presents a sorry tale of insufficient recording for the results to be incorporated into any ongoing consensus. One must hope that the topic will be better served in the future.

Dr Martine Meuwese's article provides a coda to the study of crusader Antioch, in the sense that the beautiful manuscript illustrations which she discusses were part of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century myth of the crusades. The siege and capture of Antioch during the First Crusade was an act of derring-do which seized and held the imagination of the ruling classes. There are two manuscripts of William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer*, which were illuminated at Acre in 1286-7 (that is, already nearly two hundred years after the event which they depict), showing the conquest. Such manuscripts were popular in northern France. Other copies were written and illustrated there in the fourteenth century, specifically in Picardy. The Western manuscripts show knights climbing ladders in order to scale the walls of Antioch. The illustrations use heraldry (which was in its infancy in 1098) as a pictorial device to identify crusaders and Saracens. In Flemish manuscripts prominence is given to Robert, count of Flanders, who bears the arms of the county, which would have been instantly recognizable to the users of the manuscript. Godfrey of Bouillon is similarly identified (for the readers) by the arms, gules, a fess vert. Godfrey did not in fact play an important part in the siege, but he was of local interest to the Flemish miniaturist. Like Old Testament stories, such *gesta Dei* were imagined in modern dress by

people to whom the past was not accessible in the sophisticated ways that it is to us.

Dr Meuwese draws attention to a considerably earlier pictorial record in the West, of the siege of Antioch. Incidents in the First Crusade were used as one of the themes of a stained glass window in Suger's basilica of Saint-Denis, made perhaps in the mid-1140s when the Second Crusade was being promoted — but in any case before 1151. Separate roundels showed the defeat of Suleiman either at Dorylaeum or at Antioch; the siege of Antioch; and the crusaders fighting against Corbohan on the plains of Antioch.

The history of Antioch even found a place in English decorative art. King Henry III, for whom it was a favourite subject, in 1250 caused one of his painters to borrow from the Templars a manuscript describing the events of the First Crusade, to be used as a source for scenes with which to decorate the queen's room (later known as the 'Antioch chamber') in Westminster Palace. In the following year, 1251, he commissioned the painting of three more 'Antioch chambers' in other royal residences. Again, historical accuracy seems to us to have been treated cavalierly, as the scenes are made to refer to King Richard I (Coeur-de-Lion) and the Third Crusade.

The topics discussed at our symposium were extremely varied. One theme which emerged quite strongly from a consideration of several of them together was that the year 1187 marked the beginning of the end of Antioch's glorious days. Until then, the city and the principality were resilient, recovering well enough from the Frankish conquest, the earthquake of 1114, and the decimation of the ruling class in June 1149. After Hattin, the military orders shouldered the burden as best they could, but the fabric of society was disrupted. Until then, for example, wealth had trickled down from those who earned it, to allow monasteries to produce precious manuscripts. We see how one error of military judgement, the decision of a single hour, could result in a catastrophe and could precipitate cultural decline — although of course in the background there was a long geopolitical struggle to control Antioch's hinterland, and the routes by which wealth and prosperity flowed into the city. That wealth was the prize which justified (and supported) all the expense on fortifications and on military preparedness. The merchant classes who earned the wealth by their day-to-day exertions are largely invisible to the historian,

but without them (like Charlemagne without Mahomet) the pre-eminence of Antioch is inconceivable.

At the time, and indeed still in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, derring-do and gung-ho patriotism appeared to be estimable qualities, and were unquestioned. Modern historians, with more god-like eyes, can see a clash of cultures of long duration. The resonances for all of us today will not escape the reader.

D.M. METCALF

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(*Alexander Saminsky, Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch, pp. 17-79*)

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3. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, 158, f. 4v. Canon V.
4. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 8v. Canon X (St Mark, St Luke).
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27. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, S 962, f. 85v. St Matthew.
28. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, S 962, f. 132r. St Luke.
29. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 6r. Canon X (St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke).
30. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 845, f. 7v. Canon VI.
31. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 7v. St Matthew.
32. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 94v. St Mark.
33. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 241v. St John and St Prochorus.
34. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 230, p. 463. St John and St Prochorus.
35. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 1791, f. 21r. Gospel of St Mark.
36. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 516, f. 3r. Canon I.
37. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, 418, f. 193v. On Meekness.

38. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 550, f. 239r. The script.
39. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 2806, f. 10v. St Matthew.
40. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 2806, f. 100v. St Mark.
41. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 2806, f. 3v. Canon II.
42. Mestia, History and Ethnology Museum of Svaneti, 1, f. 6r. Canons IX, X (St Matthew, St Mark).
43. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 516, f. 232v. St John.
44. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 516, f. 86v. St Mark.
45. Jerusalem, Library of the Orthodox Patriarchate, Georgian 14, f. 380r. St Andrew of Crete, Homily on the Assumption of the Virgin.
46. Jerusalem, Library of the Orthodox Patriarchate, Georgian 14, f. 1r. St Gregory of Nazianz, The Life of St Basil the Great.

(*Jos J.S. Weitenberg, The Armenian Monasteries in the Black Mountain, pp. 79-95*)
 Map: The Armenian Monasteries in the Region (adapted from C. Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, II, Atlas, Paris, 1988, 50).

(*Bernard Hamilton, The Growth of the Latin Church of Antioch and the Recruitment of its Clergy, pp. 171-85*)
 Map: The Latin Patriarchate of Antioch

(*Krijnie N. Ciggaar, Adaptation to Oriental Life by Rulers in and around Antioch: Examples and Exempla, pp. 261-83*)

1. Coin of Tancred (after D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Oxford, 1995², pl. 4, fig. 64).
2. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 142, f. 32r (after J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291*, Princeton, 1976, ill. 121).
3. Seal of Baldwin I, count of Edessa (after J.-C. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12, 1994, pl. vi, no. 61).
4. Coin of Joscelyn II, count of Edessa, with Syriac inscription (after D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Oxford, 1995², pl. vii).

(*D.M. Metcalf, Six Unresolved Problems in the Monetary History of Antioch, 969-1268, pp. 283-319*)

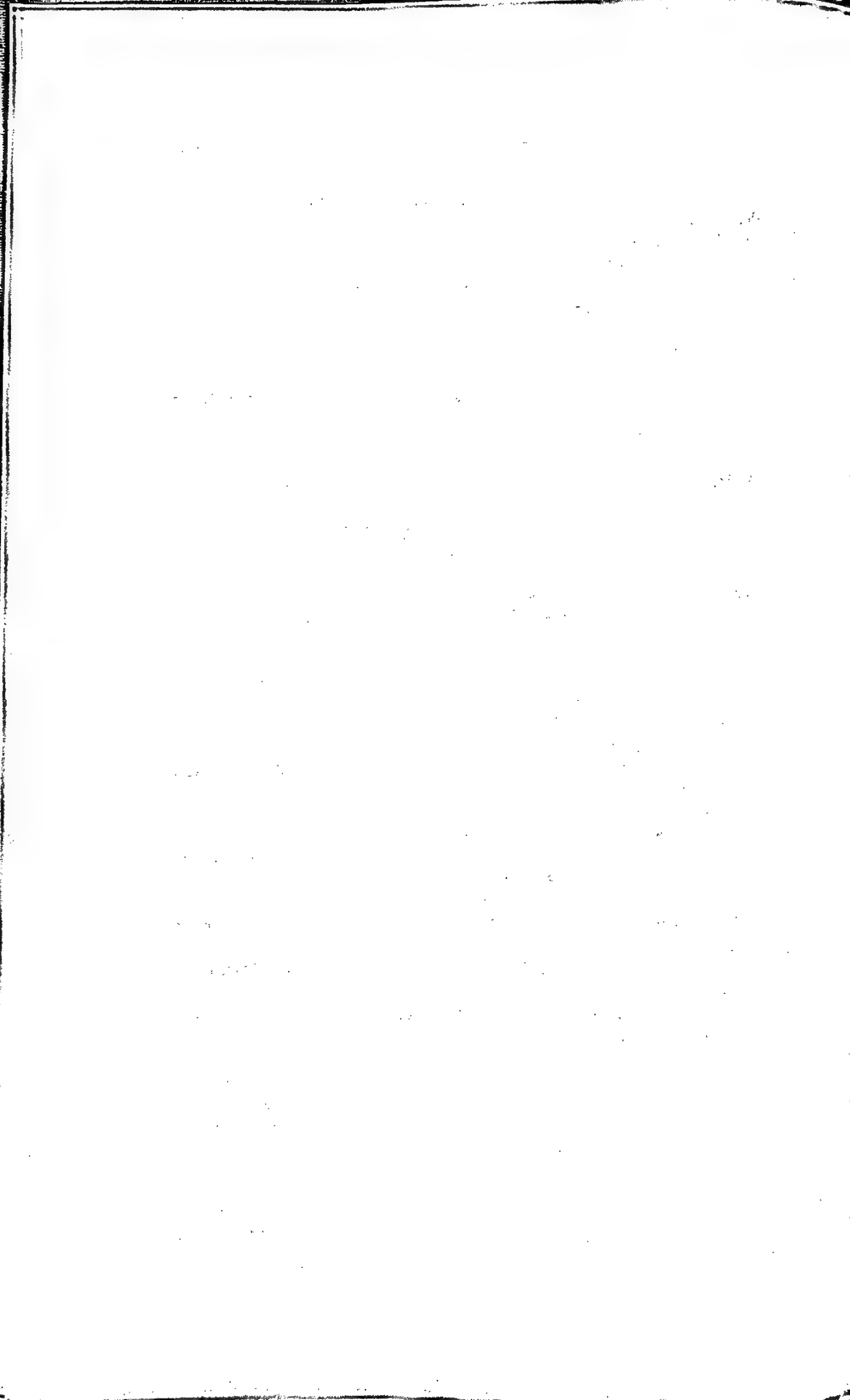
1. Anonymous follis, Class A2. Note the wavy ornaments above and below the reverse inscription. Bellinger, variety 1.
2. Follis of Constantine X with Eudokia.
3. Follis of Constantine X (second type).
4. The main types of early Frankish Antiochene folles (Types 1, 3-12).
5. The distinctive 'man-in-the-moon' profile, on a denier of Raymond (variety with long neck).
6. Denier of Raymond-Roupen.
7. Denier of Allen Types 1*-3* (Classes G-K) with chain mail represented by small crescents pointing downwards.
8. 'Bare-head' denier with crescent superimposed on neck.
9. 'Helmet' deniers, showing right- and left-facing varieties.
10. Gold bezant with the letters B, T inserted into the designs.

(*Tasha Vorderstrasse*, *Archaeology of the Antiochene Region in the Crusader Period*, pp. 319-37)

1. Map of the Antiochene region (after R.C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II, Chicago 1971).
2. Church of Daphne (after G. Downey, 'The Church at Daphne', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, *The Excavations of 1932*, ed. G.W. Elderkin, Princeton, 1934).
3. Map of Çatal Hüyük (after R.C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II, Chicago 1971).
4. Crusader level al-Mina (after A. Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria', *Archaeologia*, 87, 1938).
5. St Barlaam Monastery (after W. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes*, Stuttgart, 1986).
6. Map of the area of St Stylite the Younger Monastery (after W. Djobadze, *ibid.*).
7. Monastery of St Symeon Stylite the Younger (after W. Djobadze, *ibid.*).
8. Church of Wood of Life (after W. Djobadze, *ibid.*).

(*Martine Meuwese*, *Antioch and the Crusaders in Western Art*, pp. 337-57)

1. Crusaders besiege Antioch (B IV, ch. 1). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 142, Guillaume de Tyr, *Histoire d'Outremer*, Paris, c. 1300, fol. 28r.
2. Firuz prepares to kill his own brother / Crusaders enter Antioch (B V, ch. 1). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 142, William of Tyre, *Histoire d'Outremer*, Paris, c. 1300, fol. 36r.
3. The siege of Antioch. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiae*, Flanders (Ghent), c. 1310-1330, fol. 253v.
4. Battle on the plains of Antioch. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiae*, Flanders (Ghent), c. 1310-1330, fol. 254v.
5. Siege of Jerusalem with the assistance of St George. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiae*, Flanders (Ghent), c. 1310-1330, fol. 255r.
6. Map of Jerusalem with St George and St Demetrius pursuing Saracens below. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 5, Flanders (St Bertin), c. 1200, fol. 1r.
7. Engraving by Montfaucon (1721) of former Antioch window at St Denis (c. 1150).
8. Duel between Richard Lionheart and Saladin. London, British Museum, Chertsey tiles, England, c. 1250.



ABBREVIATIONS

- Albert of Aachen, *Historia* = Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ., 4 (Paris, 1879).
- Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, ed. Leib = Anna Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, with French trans. P. Gautier, 3 vols (Paris, 1937-45; reprint 1967); vol. IV, *Index* (Paris, 1976); English trans. E.R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (Harmondsworth, 1969).
- Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, ed. Reinsch = *Annae Comnenae, Alexias, pars prior, Prolegomena et textus*, ed. D.R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB XL/1, Series Berolinensis (Berlin and New York, 2001).
- *Anonymi chronicon [prof./eccl.] ad annum 1234* = *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.B. Chabot, CSCO 81, SS 36 (Syriac); CSCO 82, SS 37 (Syriac); CSCO 109, SS 56 (Latin v. of CSCO 81) (Leuven, 1952-3); *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, II, French trans. A. Abouna, introd., notes and index by J.M. Fiey, CSCO 354, SS 154 (v. of CSCO 82) (Leuven, 1974).
- Bar ‘Ebrōyō, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, [occ./or.] = *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 3 vols, ed. J.B. Abbeloos, Th.J. Lamy (Leuven, 1872-7).
- Bar ‘Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum* = *Gregorii Barhebraeis Chronicon syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris, 1890); *The Chronography of Gregory Abū’l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, ed. and trans. E.A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols (Oxford and London, 1932), I, Syriac text, II, English trans.
- Bar ‘Ebrōyō, *Historia* = *Historia Orientalis: Authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, Malatiensi medico, Historiam complectens universalem...*, ed. and trans. E. Pococke (Oxford, 1662), Arabic edition with Latin trans.
- Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord* = Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l’époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d’Antioche* (Paris, 1940).
- *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers* = *Cartulaire général de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-1906; reprint Munich, 1980).
- *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre* = *Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des Croisades, 15 (Paris, 1984).
- *Crusades*, ed. Setton = *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, Wis., 1969-85²): I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. M.W. Baldwin (Madison, Wis., 1969); II, *The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, ed. R.L. Wolff and H.W. Hazard (Philadelphia, 1962); III, *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. H.W. Hazard (Madison, Wis., 1975); IV, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H.W. Hazard (Madison, Wis., 1977); V, *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. N.P. Zacour and

- H.W. Hazard (Madison, Wis., 1985); vi, *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. N.P. Zacour and H.W. Hazard (Madison, Wis., 1989).
- CSCO = Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium.
 - DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
 - *East and West in the Crusader States* = *East and West in the Crusader States: Context — Contacts — Confrontations*: i, ed. K. Ciggaar, A. Davids and H. Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 75 (Leuven, 1996); ii, ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 92 (Leuven, 1999); iii, ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 125 (Leuven, 2003).
 - *EP* = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vols 1-12 (Leiden and London, 1960-2002²).
 - *L'Estoire de Eracles* = *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquete de la terre d'Outremer*, RHC Occ., 2 (Paris, 1859; reprint Westmead, 1969).
 - *Gesta Francorum* = *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (London, 1962).
 - Hamilton, *Latin Church* = Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980).
 - Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis* = Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, ed. F. Moschus (Douai, 1597; reprint Farnborough, 1971).
 - Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, Buridant = *La traduction de l'Historia orientalis de Jacques de Vitry*, ed., introd., notes et glossaire C. Buridant (Paris, 1986).
 - Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, Dostourian = *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. from the original Armenian with a commentary and introduction by A.E. Dostourian (Lanham, N.Y., and London, 1993).
 - Mayer, *Varia Antiochena* = H.E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena: Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, MGH, Studien und Texte, 6 (Hanover, 1993).
 - MGH = Monumenta Germaniae historica
 - MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores, 32 vols (Hanover, 1826-1934).
 - Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* = *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. J.B. Chabot, 4 vols (Paris, 1899-1924; reprint Brussels, 1963), Syriac text, iii, French trans.
 - Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, Langlois = Victor Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand, patriarche des Syriens jacobites: Traduite pour la première fois sur la version du prêtre Ischôk* (Venice, 1868).
 - OCP = *Orientalia christiana periodica*.
 - ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan a.o., 3 vols (New York and Oxford, 1991).
 - OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*.
 - *Or. Chr.* = *Oriens christianus*.
 - *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* = *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor: Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J.M.C. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864).
 - PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols in 166 parts (Paris, 1857-66).

- PL = Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1904-).
- PO = Patrologia orientalis, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau, vol. 1- (Paris, 1904-).
- Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* = Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, RHC Occ., 3 (Paris, 1866).
- Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'* = Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 9 (Paris, 1969).
- RHC = Recueil des historiens des croisades (Paris, 1841-1906).
- RHC Arm. = RHC, Documents Arméniens, 2 vols (Paris, 1869-1906).
- RHC Occ. = RHC, Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols in 8 parts (Paris, 1844-95).
- RHC Or. = RHC, Historiens orientaux, 5 vols in 6 parts (Paris, 1872-1906).
- RHC, Lois = RHC, Lois, ed. Beugnot, 2 vols (Paris, 1841-3).
- *ROL* = *Revue de l'Orient Latin*.
- Runciman, *Crusades* = S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Harmondsworth, 1971 etc.).
- *Tusculum-Lexikon* = *Tusculum-Lexikon: Griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, ed. W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz (Munich and Zürich, 1982³).
- Usāmah, *Memoirs* = *Memoirs of an Arab-Syrian Gentleman or an Arab knight in the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh*, Engl. trans. P.K. Hitti (Princeton, 1927; reprint Beirut, 1964).
- Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena* = Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, RHC Occ., 5 (Paris, 1895); *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, English trans. and commentary by Th.S. Asbridge and S.B. Edgington, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 4 (Ashgate, 1999).
- William of Tyre, *Chronicon* = William of Tyre, *Chronicon / Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986).
- William of Tyre, *Continuation* = *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. M.R. Morgan (Paris, 1982).



THE DUCHY OF ANTIOCH DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF BYZANTINE RULE

JEAN-CLAUDE CHEYNET*

The capture of Antioch by the Byzantine army in 969 crowned the efforts of reconquest against the Arabs begun more than a century earlier, and laid a solid basis for rule over northern Syria. The repercussions of the fall of the Syrian metropolis were felt throughout the Middle East and alarmed even the inhabitants of Baghdad. In Constantinople the advantages of this victory were perceived on two planes. Firstly, the Empire acquired the vast resources of Cilicia and the region of Antioch, once the security of these lands was assured and the Fatimid offensive contained; and, secondly, the church of Constantinople gained a hold on one of the five patriarchates, even if, in theory, the apostolic see of Antioch retained complete autonomy.

The duchy of Antioch was only one of the large frontier districts set up beginning with the reign of John Tzimiskes, but it was the most important for, in addition to northern Syria, the duchy comprised the vast Cilician plain and access to it through the Taurus.

POLITICAL CONTROL

The emperor had to ensure his control of this recently conquered region which had not been administered by Byzantium for three centuries and which, since the collapse of the Abbasid caliphate, had no longer been ruled at long distance from the far-off capital Baghdad. The inhabitants of Tarsus and Antioch in the tenth century looked rather toward nearby Aleppo and the Hamdanid Emir Sayf ad-Dawla¹. The reimposition of rule from afar required the special attention of the emperors who had to impress their new subjects with military force but also to

* I warmly thank Michael Featherstone for the translation of this text.
For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ On the Hamdanid dominion one can still consult M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Algiers and Paris, 1951).

win their hearts in order to establish durable rule over the country; in short, they had to rally all or part of the indigenous elite. In this the emperors could rely on previous experience, for in the half-century before the capture of Antioch they had annexed important cities previously under Arab rule such as Melitene².

The Importance of the Army

The city of Antioch was in the first place one of the most impressive fortresses of the East, even if its vast walls did not in the end prove an obstacle to most assailants. In addition, the duchy was comprised of numerous themes whose capitals were also well defended by fortifications: Podandon, Tarsus, Adana, Anazarbus, Mopsuestia, Germanicea, Telouch, Hierapolis, Mauron Oros, Palatza, Artach, Laodicea, Gabala and Balanea, to name only the most surely attested³. Secondary fortresses were also defended by taxiarchs⁴. This region, the only one in the East which faced a powerful Muslim enemy, the Fatimids, was strongly defended, for all these strong places clearly contained garrisons. Antioch alone had perhaps 4,000 men, at least when the real numbers of troops corresponded to speculative ones, for it is certain that at specific moments in its history Antioch was desperately lacking troops for its defence⁵. Historians concerned with the military situation in the east of the Byzantine Empire must not rely blindly on the evidence of the Escorial *Taktikon* which suggests the existence of many themes on the eastern frontier. This type of document was intended for the organisation of

² Melitene was finally taken by John Kourkouas. On Byzantine Melitene, cf. the brief paper by F. Tinnefeld, 'Die Stadt Melitene in ihrer späteren byzantinischen Epoche (934-1101)', in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971*, II (Bucharest, 1975), pp. 435-43.

³ N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles: Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1972). A more detailed commentary is given in K.-P. Todt, 'Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969-1204)' (Typescript of thesis, Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 390-421.

⁴ Nikephoros Ouranos, then *doux* of Antioch, sent a letter to a correspondent through the intermediary of his taxiarch, see J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1960), p. 229. The taxiarchs of the duchy of Antioch are often mentioned in *Yahyā*, p. 526.

⁵ Miguel Atalíates, *Historia*, Introduction, trans. and commentary by Im. Pérez Martín (Madrid, 2002), pp. 72-3.

imperial banquets and the reception of *strategoï*. We cannot conclude that these posts were always filled. The seal record gives some indications: if we exclude seals struck by those in charge of the major themes and duchies, seals of *strategoï* posted to secondary themes are very few in number. Is it mere chance that the only seal of a *strategos* of Telouch dates from the end of Byzantine presence there?⁶ It may be that, under threat from the Turks, a *strategos* was again posted to Telouch with a contingent of men. But, of course, this hypothesis could be proved wrong by the discovery of new seals⁷.

There were many foreigners in service to the duchy, such as Armenians and Franks⁸. There is no specific explanation for this great number of mercenaries. It was the result of a steady development beginning in the tenth century toward professionalism in the Byzantine army and a more systematic stationing of the best divisions on the frontiers. For the same reason, part of the imperial *tagmata*, the Scholae and the Hicanates⁹, were garrisoned in the provinces belonging to the *doux* of Antioch.

This latter held one of the key positions of the Empire, for he commanded the troops charged with the defence of the numerous Eastern themes. Our list of the *doukes* of Antioch is fairly complete, on the one hand because of the important role they play in the narrative sources and, on the other, on account of the abundant sigillographic documentation¹⁰. Nomination to this position was reserved to men who had the emperor's confidence, sometimes his relations, but most often experienced generals.

⁶ Cheynet, 'Antioche', pp. 426-7.

⁷ When a place was abandoned by the army, it is the most recently used seals which are most often preserved.

⁸ For the most recent study, cf. N. Garsoïan, 'The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire', in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou (Washington D.C., 1998), pp. 53-124.

⁹ J.-Cl. Cheynet, C. Morrisson and W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris, 1991), no. 154.

¹⁰ V. Laurent, 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 38 (1962), pp. 219-54. Since the publication of this pioneering work, other seals have been discovered. For the most complete list, see Cheynet, *Zacos*, pp. 22-3. John Vestes is to be deleted from the list because the name is in fact Leo.

The Choice of Civil Servants

In a recent article, Catherine Holmes has rightly stressed the pragmatism of the emperors in their choice of civil administrators¹¹. Holmes remarks that at the beginning of the Byzantine occupation appeal was made to the local nobility, in particular for offices of a fiscal character, and she adds that already at the time of Byzantine rule in Melitene the curator had been charged with raising a tribute (*dasmos*) in as much as the Byzantines expected no further results of their victory. Holmes likewise remarks that according to Leo the Deacon the objective of the Byzantines during their offensive against Antioch was to render the city tributary (*hypospondos*)¹². J. Shepard notes in turn that for a time at the beginning of Byzantine rule Melitene retained its emir and that no *strategos* is attested until 970¹³.

Two questions occur to us. Firstly, what was the nature of the curatorship of Melitene and, indirectly, those of Tarsus and Antioch attested after the conquest? And secondly, what part did the local elite play in the government of the Eastern provinces during the first few generations after the conquest?

Curators (*kouratores*) normally managed estates on behalf of either a private or state landlord. With very few exceptions, the seals refer to state lands. There the curators levied both tax in the strict sense and rent, the proceeds of which they sent to offices in the capital. Did the curators appointed in the East have a different assignment, for instance to govern on behalf of the emperor by serving as intermediaries with his new subjects? Nothing suggests that this was the case. *Dasmophorein* implies simply taxation and one finds this term elsewhere without any technical meaning. John Skylitzes reports that Constantine VIII levied five *dasmophoriai* during the three years of his reign¹⁴. John of Antioch accused the Emperor Alexios Komnenos of crushing the country under the burden of new *dasmophoriai* for the needs of the army¹⁵. John Tzetzes

¹¹ C. Holmes, ' "How the East Was Won" in the Reign of Basil II', in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 41-56.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³ J. Shepard, 'Constantine VII, Caucasian Openings and the Road to Aleppo', in *Eastern Approaches* (see n. 11), p. 30.

¹⁴ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973), p. 373.

¹⁵ P. Gautier, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène', *Revue des études byzantines*, 28 (1970), pp. 29, 31.

wrote to the *logariastes* John Smeniotes because he had learnt that he was charged with the *dasmophoriai* of a theme and asked him to intervene on behalf of one of his relations¹⁶. The list could be easily augmented. The term evidently has no bearing on the form of the tax, which might be in cash or in kind.

On the other hand, it appears that the curator of Melitene played a particular role in the government of the city and was probably the only representative of Byzantine authority there for several decades. In the *Taktikon* of Benešević there is no mention of a *strategos* of Melitene, but this officer does figure in the Escorial *Taktikon* dating from the reign of Tzimiskes. This lacuna in the list of civil servants at Melitene prompts us to ask questions concerning a more general phenomenon: the relative scarcity of seals of civil servants on duty in the Eastern provinces. Certainly, the relative brevity of the second period of Byzantine rule, only one or two centuries, is part of the explanation, but this is not sufficient reason in itself. Most of the seals in the larger collections come from Istanbul and it is clear that the Eastern frontiers are poorly represented. In principle one finds in the capital the seals of provincial civil servants who, for one reason or another, sent documents to the central offices. We must conclude therefore that few civil servants posted to the frontier provinces had need of sending documents or reports. Chance might also play a part in the distribution of seals discovered. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that we have an impressive number of *doukes* of Antioch, from whom we know Constantinople required reports, whereas we possess very few seals of civil servants, curators, judges and merchants of the duchy of Antioch and a limited number of seals belonging to *strategoï* of the themes under the authority of the *doux* (e.g. Anazarbus, Tarsus, Adana). The obvious conclusion is that many of them stood under the direct authority of the *doux* and that their seals therefore circulated mostly within the boundaries of the duchy. However, the list of curators of Tarsus has increased in the past decades on account of the finds of seals more or less by chance in south-eastern Turkey, apparently one of the main sources for Western markets.

The same phenomenon is observed in the case of seals of ecclesiastical dignitaries. Though we have a considerable group of seals of the patriarchs of Antioch, those of dependent metropolitans and bishops remain few. The patriarchs of Antioch were certainly in close contact with Constantinople, whereas local bishops wrote more to their own

¹⁶ *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, ed. Petrus Al. M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), ep. 47, p. 68.

patriarch than to the civil or religious authorities of the capital. One might look, therefore, for a contrast in proportions between the seals found in Istanbul, and those in the museums of Antioch and Tarsus. It is difficult to draw conclusions from the lack of one or another sort of civil servant and, moreover, in the absence of such a source, we cannot draw precise conclusions concerning recruitment. For instance, we are at a loss as to how to interpret the absence of a judge of Antioch. We know of only one pretor of Antioch and several civil officials *ek prosopou* — because the other duties ascribed to them are civil — charged with the administration of the duchy. Considering the great number of seals of thematic judges which have come down to us, the absence of a judge of Antioch cannot be the result of chance. Several explanations are possible. The different communities of the duchy might have had their own judges, whilst the *doux* saw to the Greeks. After all, under Norman rule, the *doux* of Antioch was the chief of ‘civic’ justice¹⁷. We might imagine that the military centre was at Antioch, but the civil centre at Tarsus, where numerous Byzantine judges are attested. When Nikephoros Ouranos was *doux* of Antioch under Basil II he seems to have formed a team with Philetos Synadenos whom he summoned to Tarsus. All of this, however, is conjecture.

Despite these inadequacies of the sources, we must agree with Holmes in her remark that at Antioch the Byzantines at first entrusted financial positions to the locals. It is possible that this phenomenon lasted longer than is generally thought, for the *phorologos* killed by disgruntled taxpayers under Michael V was called Salibas, clearly a local name¹⁸. As at Melitene, imperial or state properties were surely quite vast. The distinction made by Alexios Komnenos, in the treaty of Deabolis with Bohemond, between *diakrateseis* (dependences or districts) and *strategiai*¹⁹, could indicate a conflict between duties of a fiscal nature²⁰ and military

¹⁷ J.-Cl. Cheynet, ‘Le sceau de Thierry de Barneville, duc d’Antioche’, *Revue numismatique*, 26 (1984), p. 226.

¹⁸ Skylitzes (see n. 14), p. 395.

¹⁹ K.-P. Todt, ‘Antioch and Edessa in the So-Called Treaty of Deabolis (September 1108)’, in *The Mandaean: Antioch and Edessa & Cultural Interchange in the Arabian Peninsula*, ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000), p. 493.

²⁰ Amongst the *diakrateseis* mentioned one finds that of Loulon. This could not have been the fortress of the Taurus range so often disputed between Arabs and Byzantines. It may have been a village or a group of villages belonging to the state from which were derived the grants given by Basil II to Mansur ibn Lu’lu when the latter took refuge in Antioch. See *Yahyā*, p. 400; and W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert*, Byzantina Vindobonensia, 14 (Vienna, 1981), p. 67.

responsibilities. Later, in the eleventh century, the position of curator or other fiscal functions were occupied at Tarsus, Antioch and Melitene by Constantinopolitans, often of illustrious families²¹.

One might ask with regard to the duchy of Antioch and, more generally, the frontier provinces, whether the policies of the emperors differed here from those pursued in the 'old Roman themes'. As at Antioch, we can be certain that the choice of *strategoi* and *doukes* depended directly on the will of the emperor, and that, also as at Antioch, indigenous provincials were employed in subordinate civil posts, though in the latter case this is more difficult to demonstrate because of the absence of such civil servants in the chronicles and the sigillographic record, owing to the inferior position of these civil servants.

Good political sense suggests such a similarity of administration. In a vast empire with severely limited resources, the state had to delegate all duties which did not jeopardize its security. From Roman times the municipal elite constituted the relay between the city, which formed the primary administrative as well as economic unit, and the central offices. Only the local aristocracy had good knowledge of the contributory capabilities of their fellow citizens and attitude of the latter toward the central power. This ancient system had not survived the disappearance of cities and ruralisation of the Empire. The employment of the local elite in official posts maintained an essential link between the capital and the provinces.

In the mid-eleventh century it appears that certain families of Antioch, the Antiochitai and the Libellisioi, sought their fortune in Constantinople²², a movement paralleled by contemporary families of Italian origin such as the Argyroi, whereas until then few civil servants in the central offices had come from outlying regions.

²¹ For Tarsus we find, to mention only a few of the most famous names, the families of Hexamilites, Rhomaios, Serblis, see Cheynet, *Zacos*, pp. 87-88. For Antioch, those of Eugenianos, Solomon, Kataphloros, see Cheynet, *Zacos*, pp. 24, 27; and idem, 'Antioche', no. 37. For Melitene, that of Chrysoberges, see *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, IV, *The East*, ed. E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides (Washington D.C., 2001), no. 4.68.6.

²² The other illustrious family from the duchy, that of the Marchapsaboi, several of whose members are attested by seals, held important imperial offices but do not appear, at the present state of our knowledge, to have been posted outside their native region.

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION

On their return to the region of Antioch the Byzantines found themselves in a complex religious situation. The Muslims were few in number, for most of them had perished or been sold as slaves or sought refuge in lands which remained under the control of their coreligionists. The Melkite community had suffered in previous years because of its supposed sympathy with the invader, but it now found peace under Byzantine rule. The Christians were predominantly Jacobites, and the Monophysite current was reinforced by the emperors' desire to attract enough inhabitants to ensure the recent conquests. The Jacobites of Mesopotamia responded to this appeal in great numbers, and this led to the creation of new bishoprics within the Jacobite patriarchate of Antioch as well as the foundation of monasteries in which there was a flourishing of Syriac literature. It was also necessary to develop a network of Armenian churches to respond to the need of soldiers from this province garrisoned in the duchy²³. A number of Latins frequented the city and had their own hospices and a place of worship. We do not know how the population was divided amongst these various confessions, but there is no doubt that the Monophysites were in the majority. It is possible, however, that these proportions changed, notably with the new imperial policy under Romanos III Argyros aimed at favouring the Melkites. The pressure applied by the official church perhaps yielded results, for conversions are deplored in the Monophysite chronicles²⁴.

Two points will retain our attention: how the emperors kept watch over the official church and what was the nature of relations with the indigenous churches.

There seems to have been a certain parallelism between the ecclesiastical and the civil administration. For the purposes of the latter the emperors at first favoured local recruitment, later preferred the nomination to superior positions of men who had served for a time in the capital, though by no means excluding locals. The first patriarch would have been a bishop of Phlabia, a suffragan of Anazarbus, but the assassination of Nikephoros Phokas put an end to his career before he could

²³ On this immigration, cf. G. Dagon, 'Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du X^e et au XI^e siècle: L'immigration syrienne', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 6 (1976), pp. 177-216.

²⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, pp. 131, 144, 161; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, Dostourian, p. 84.

be installed on the throne of Antioch²⁵. During the civil wars under Basil II, Agapios, the bishop of Aleppo, got himself elected. Afterwards, the imperial choice fell on Constantinopolitan clerics, often of good families as in the case of judges, though Syrians were also sometimes chosen, such as Peter III who had been *chartophylax* of St Sophia before becoming patriarch of his native city. The patriarchs were therefore the emperor's trusted men, which nevertheless did not diminish their awareness of the historical importance of their see and led them to claim if not autonomy, at least parity in the framework of a restored pentarchy²⁶. Such was the attitude of Peter III with regard to Keroularios, though it presupposed the support of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos.

The relations between Melkites and Monophysites have already been the subject of commentary. Too often the opposition of these two currents to one another has been considered as one of the key factors in the Byzantine retreat before the Turks, a point of view held also with regard to an earlier period, when the Arabs took possession of the Eastern provinces of the Empire. The picture of the church of the Monophysites given by Michael the Syrian, our principal source for Antioch together with Matthew of Edessa, is partial, but the Jacobite patriarch, sometimes unwittingly, illustrates the divisions of his own church and the complexity of the relations between Chalcedonians and Jacobites, who can in no wise be characterized as clear opponents. Certainly, frequent clashes occurred amongst the ecclesiastical hierarchies, notably when the Melkites attempted to convert the Monophysites with the emperor's support, as under Romanos III Argyros.

For the most part relations between the two communities were peaceful. Under Basil II a governor of Antioch who had leprosy was allegedly cured by the Jacobite patriarch, John Mar Abdoun (1004-33), and the Chalcedonian patriarch met John personally, corresponded with him and even put on a shirt sent to him by the Jacobite saint for a feast-day²⁷. This report could be considered as one of the edifying stories intended to

²⁵ On the prosopography of the patriarchs of Antioch, cf. most recently K.-P. Todt, 'The Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in the Period of the Renewed Byzantine Rule and in the Time of the First Crusades (969-1204)', in *History of the Antiochian Greek Orthodox Church: What Specificity?* (Balamand, 1999), pp. 33-53.

²⁶ The bibliography on the schism of 1054 and relations with Constantinople at this time is very large. Amongst others we may cite E. Petrucci, 'Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli', *Studi Medievali*, 14 (1973), pp. 733-83.

²⁷ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 139.

encourage the community, and it is to a certain extent confirmed in the archives of the patriarchate of Constantinople. When John was summoned in 1030 to Constantinople before the synod and was condemned, the patriarch of Antioch at the time, Nicholas II Studites, was absent, no doubt because he did not approve of the measures taken; and the condemnation had to be repeated in 1032, when Nicholas's successor Elijah agreed to sign the decree²⁸. More often persecution of the Jacobites was triggered off by personal initiative, as at Melitene, where the Metropolitan John finally persuaded Romanos III to take action against John Mar Abdoun and to summon him before the synod of which we have just spoken. The judge of Melitene, Chrysoberges, advised the nobles of the city to send the patriarch into Arab territory²⁹. In 1039, the patriarch had to make appeal to canon and civil regulations regarding heretics, for in the region of Melitene certain Orthodox (Chalcedonian) fathers were giving their daughters in marriage to heretics (Jacobites) and made them their heirs; and judges even accepted the testimony of heretics against the Orthodox in court cases³⁰. We have no evidence for Antioch, but the situation must have been similar, except that the Chalcedonian patriarchs were perhaps less prone to combat than the metropolitans of Melitene or had been instructed by the emperors to proceed with moderation.

The riot which, at the end of the reign of Michael VII, led to the burning by the Melkites of the principal church of the Jacobites, is reported in the history of the patriarchs of the church of Egypt³¹ and might indeed have been connected with tensions resulting from Turkish inroads in the region. Moreover, it is not certain that the persecution of the Monophysites was the result of concern over the Turkish invasion³². On the

²⁸ *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. II et III, *Les registres de 715 à 1206*, by V. Grumel, second ed. rev. by J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1989), nos 839 and 840. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 141: 'When [the bishops of the Synod] were assembled in their church, which they called Hagia Sophia, the patriarch of Antioch and his bishops did not come to the assembly. But when they [the Jacobites] were summoned, [the Chalcedonians] replied: "We know that these men are Christians and that there is no need to interrogate them".'

²⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 140. If the attribution of a recently published seal to the judge mentioned by Michael the Syrian is correct, his name was John Chrysoberges, and he was also the curator and thus governor of Melitene, see *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, IV (see n. 21), no. 68.6.

³⁰ Grumel, *Regestes* (see n. 28), no. 846.

³¹ Reference in Todt, 'Antiocheia' (see n. 3), p. 807 and n. 235.

³² Dagron, *Minorités ethniques* (see n. 23), pp. 206-12. The assertions of Matthew of Edessa, who wrote well after the First Crusade and the formation of the Armenian principality of Cilicia must be treated with caution, cf. J.-Cl. Cheynet, 'Les Arméniens de l'Empire en Orient de Constantin X à Alexis Comnène', in *Les Arméniens à Byzance*,

contrary, one could see here the calm assurance of the superiority of the Empire, for Chalcedonian pressure was applied before anyone took account of the Turkish danger which did not appear to pose any threat to Byzantine domination of Asia Minor, even after Mantzikert³³. Michael the Syrian seems to imply that the Chalcedonians hardened their attitude with regard to the Monophysites toward the end of their rule over Antioch, thus provoking the wrath of God who punished them and gave victory to the invaders, whereas he approves of the attitude of Basil II, the ever-victorious emperor. We must be wary of these proofs, for Michael knew well the difficulties of the Byzantine armies in the last third of the eleventh century and could have set in relief certain contemporary events. If we observe the attitude of the patriarchs of Antioch, the only one whom Michael the Syrian accuses of persecuting his coreligionists is Agapios, who lived under Basil II³⁴. The Jacobite community was less unified than it appeared³⁵ and it was often divided over the election of a bishop³⁶. In more than one instance at Antioch the losing side had no hesitation in appealing to the imperial authorities and several bishops even came over to Chalcedonianism.

As a rule the emperors left dissident communities to organise themselves as they liked. At Melitene, after the Constantinopolitan Synod of 1030, we learn that the Monophysite patriarch came to the city to consecrate a new metropolitan. Even after the Turkish conquest and the Frankish occupation, the imperial attitude changed hardly at all. An incident during the reign of Alexios Komnenos gives an indirect illustration of the normally peaceful relations between the imperial authorities and the Monophysites. Michael the Syrian reports that the Monophysites and the Armenians both possessed a church in Constantinople. 'In each of them there was a priest and a corporation of lay merchants.' A Syrian

Byzantina Sorbonensia, 12 (Paris, 1995), pp. 67-78. If Romanos III did indeed take measures against the Jacobites after his defeat, more ridiculous than worrying, at the hands of the Mirdassides of Aleppo, this was surely a temperamental gesture intended to conceal his failure from the populace of the capital. He ventured taking such action precisely because of the peaceful situation on the eastern frontier once the *doux* of Antioch had set things right.

³³ Kekaumenos, who wrote his *Counsels* under Michael VII at the earliest, never considered that the Empire was passing through one of the worst crises of its existence. Nothing in the text suggests Asia Minor was already filled with Turks, see G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena (Cecaumeni consilia et narrationes)*, (Moscow, 1972).

³⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 131.

³⁵ During the crisis of 1030 numerous bishops in the circle of John Mar Abdoun apostatized, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 143.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162-3, 174, 175, 177.

priest from Antioch who had been badly treated by his Constantinopolitan colleague went to the emperor and denounced the Armenians and Syrians as accomplices of the Turks. Alexios had the churches burnt down, drove away the priests and forced a part of the community to convert³⁷. If this anecdote is true, it proves that 'heretics' could reside in the capital and exercise their cult without hindrance³⁸.

Considerations of religion do not sufficiently explain the situation. Monophysites such as the Armenian Apnelgharib, the *strategos* of Cilicia, Gagik of Ani, the *doux* of Lykandos and, perhaps, Katchatourios, *doux* of Antioch (we do not know whether he inclined to the national religion or was a Chalcedonian), were in fact, with regard to the enemies of Romania, faithful servants of the emperor who had named them³⁹. The inhabitants of Antioch appear to have supported the Melkite patriarch, Aimilianos, in his opposition to the *doux* Nikephoritzes. Account must also be taken of the divisions which opposed the Monophysites against one another: from time to time there were clashes between the Syrians and the Armenians⁴⁰. There is no indication that the Jacobites favoured the advance of the Turks, all the more so because they do not appear to have been numerous in the ranks of the Byzantine army. The peace imposed by the Seljuk sultan, Malik Shah, was probably welcomed by the entire population, but it was a Chalcedonian, Nikon of the Black Mountain, who expressed his relief most unequivocally⁴¹. Likewise, it was the Chalcedonian chiefs Philaretos, Gabriel and Thoros who negotiated their submission with the sultan⁴².

³⁷ Ibid., p. 185.

³⁸ From Anna Komnene we know that the Manicheans were left in peace by the emperors until her father used them as scapegoats after the disaster of Dyrrachion in 1081. See Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, ed. Leib, II, p. 45; ed. Reinsch, pars prior, pp. 170-1. The repression lasted for a short time until c. 1087-8 when Alexios, fearing lest the Manicheans of Philippopolis should join forces with Cuman invaders, again tried to convert them. See Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, III, p. 181; ed. Reinsch, p. 456.

³⁹ Without doubt Michael VII, see J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 9 (Paris, 1990), pp. 398-9.

⁴⁰ About this growing hostility, see the evidence of Bar Salībī, metropolitan of Amida, in his *Treatise against the Armenians*, cited by G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs Musulmans et Croisés: Etude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068-1150)* (Lisboa, 2003) pp. 142-3.

⁴¹ V. Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur*, I (Saint Petersburg, 1911; reprint Hildesheim, 1965), p. 561.

⁴² For Philaretos, cf. J.-Cl. Cheynet and J.-F. Vannier, *Études prosopographiques* (Paris, 1986), pp. 71-2. Like Thoros, Gabriel accepted to become emir in the service of the sultan, though they retained the power they had in Byzantium over their respective cities of Melitene and Edessa. See G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, compiled by J.W. Nesbitt (Bern, 1985), no. 464; Cheynet, *Zacos*, no. 34.

ANTIOCH, A CAPITAL OF DISSIDENCE?

Did Constantinople have misgivings about Antioch? Could the latter have been able to constitute an autonomous power?⁴³

There are apparently good arguments to this effect, for Antioch was at the centre of many revolts. The son of Bardas Phokas, Leo, held Antioch on behalf of his father, who had revolted against Basil II. This same emperor had to put down the uprising of the partisans of another rebel, Bardas Skleros. In 1071-2 the *doux* Katchatourios supported Romanos IV Diogenes in his struggle against Michael VII Doukas, the emperor who had taken the latter's place on the throne of Constantinople after the defeat of Mantzikert. Finally, Philaretos Brachamios, another opponent of Michael VII Doukas, became master of Antioch at the beginning of 1078 until the city fell into Seljuk hands in December 1084. These revolts, added to the troubles of taxation and the religious quarrels have given rise to the idea that the Eastern provinces regained by Nikephoros Phokas and his successors were not very loyal to the Empire and that Antioch was at any time liable to become the capital of a dissident state.

But in fact, if we examine the troubles at Antioch, we observe that the revolts under Basil II were due in the first instance to the presence there of large units of the Byzantine army and it is to be expected that they should have rallied to the rest of the Eastern army after it had taken position against the emperor. It is probable that, in an individual capacity, one or another inhabitant of Antioch took advantage of the critical situation in which Basil II found himself in order to gain titles and riches. In the provinces peopled by 'Greeks', the nobles and officers often rallied to the camp which appeared to offer them the best rewards. The same analysis is valid with regard to the revolt of Katchatourios who took part in the civil war which tore apart Anatolia in 1072; but this was not because Antioch no longer felt itself bound to Constantinople.

The case of Philaretos Brachamios might appear different. However, his dissidence had its origins in the same context as the rebellion of Katchatourios. He had remained loyal to Diogenes and refused to join Michael VII. Afterwards, circumstances rendered him in fact autonomous after the Seljuks cut off the traditional military route across the Anatolian plateau. Nevertheless Brachamios's power was recognised by the Emperors Nikephoros Botaneiates and Alexios Komnenos who granted him a

⁴³ Dagrón, *Minorités ethniques* (see n. 23), p. 205, stresses that the emperors 'traitent Antioche, non comme une ville normale, mais comme une sous-capitale, qui ne doit jamais devenir une concurrente de Constantinople'.

series of dignities which were the highest possible at the time they were awarded: named officially *domesticus* of the Scholae of the East, Brachamios finally became *protosebastos*. He was considered the chief of Byzantine forces in the East. Anna Komnene gives a favourable opinion of this general, even if she criticises his submission to the Turks⁴⁴. One might even ask whether Brachamios had not sent a number of troops to the West in response to the appeal of Alexios Komnenos when the latter mounted the throne⁴⁵. A seal of Philaretos, *domesticus* of the Scholae of the East has been discovered on Bulgarian territory⁴⁶. Even if this seal attests only to the correspondence of the master of Antioch with one of his colleagues or with the emperor on campaign in Bulgaria, it is evidence nevertheless that relations between Antioch and the Empire were not interrupted with the accession of Alexios Komnenos. Furthermore, at the same period, it appears that northern Syria furnished Constantinople with astrologers who were admired by the Emperors Michael Doukas and Alexios Komnenos⁴⁷.

Other generals in charge of the principal cities of the region, Basil Apokapes and later Thoros at Edessa and Gabriel at Melitene, also benefited from the distribution of dignities by Alexios Komnenos. The mention of the Emperor Alexios in an inscription at Edessa is another indication that imperial legitimacy was still recognised in the East even after the arrival of the Turks⁴⁸. All these generals were Chalcedonians and cannot be suspected of wanting to remove the province of Antioch from the authority of Constantinople for religious reasons. Finally, nothing distinguished Antiochene separatism from that of the Pontus except the respective size of the two territories. Alexios Komnenos had left Theodore Gabras free hand at Trebizond in operations against the Turks by granting him the high dignity of *sebastos*. Gabras had taken advantage of this to establish his autonomy, but there is no question that his dissidence had any religious motive, for the duchy of Chaldia was

⁴⁴ Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, ed. Leib, II, p. 64; ed. Reinsch, p. 186.

⁴⁵ Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, ed. Leib, I, p. 131; ed. Reinsch, p. 110. Anna Komnene mentions only Dabatenos and Bourtzes, but she adds that Alexios wrote to other rulers in the East to announce his accession. It would be surprising if Brachamios, a major military official in the East, was not one of them.

⁴⁶ I. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 1, *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names* (Sofia, 2003), no. 31.1.

⁴⁷ P. Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background to the First Crusade*, Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies (Toronto, 1996), p. 24, cites two of them, Symeon Seth, from Antioch, and Eleutherios Zebelenos, whose name suggests that he came from Gabala.

⁴⁸ J.B. Segal, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 224-5.

inhabited, apart from a few Armenians, by Chalcedonians. Nevertheless, the relations of Alexios Komnenos with Gabras were probably more difficult than those with Brachamios⁴⁹.

The population of Antioch was no doubt turbulent. A tax revolt had occasioned, as we have seen, the murder of a certain Salibas who had been charged with the collection of taxes. But this is not sufficient evidence that Antioch was any more intractable with regard to Byzantine taxation than other cities, for, at about the same time, the inhabitants of Naupactus in Greece had murdered their tax collector whose exactions they judged excessive. It is certain that officials posted in the principal cities of the East, Antioch, Edessa and Melitene, could obtain only from the richer inhabitants the ever greater sums required for the war against the Turks. Since the officials were Chalcedonians and the majority of the prosperous merchants who were forced to pay were Monophysites, it is no wonder that these exactions, which occasioned bitter complaint on the part of the victims and, often, cruel repression on the part of military officials, were later misrepresented in terms of religious conflict.⁵⁰

In sum, on the eve of the crusade, one could consider at Constantinople that the reconquest of Antioch would follow the same pattern as that of Nicaea or Smyrna and that a part of the army of the East would be stationed there together with the *domesticus* of the Scholae of the East, a position which would have been refilled after the death of its last holder, Brachamios. For this reason Bohemond, who was well informed, had demanded this glorious dignity from Alexios Komnenos. Alexios had probably made an accord with Bohemond⁵¹ which came to nothing

⁴⁹ For Gabras, cf. A. Bryer, A. Dunn and J.-W. Nesbitt, 'Theodore Gabras, Duke of Chaldia (†), and the Gabrades: Portraits, Sites and Seals', in *Byzantium — State and Society: In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. A. Avramea, A. Laiou and E. Chrysos (Athens, 2003), pp. 51-70, with publication of his seal as *doux* and *sebastos*.

⁵⁰ For the wealth of the Syrians of Antioch, see the rather exaggerated evidence of Matthew of Edessa (trans. Dostourian (see n. 24), p. 84): 'In the city of Antioch there were many Syrians who had gold and silver, and possessed wealth and all types of affluence. When their children went to the church of their faith, five hundred boys seated on mules went forth.'

⁵¹ If we can believe Anna Komnene, her father and Bohemond maintained relations of mistrust, if not blatant hostility. We now know that the cooperation between Alexios and Bohemond began auspiciously before it went wrong on account of the events preceding the fall of Antioch. On these difficult negotiations, see mainly J. Shepard, 'When Greek Meets Greek: Alexius Komnenos and Bohemond in 1097-98', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 12 (1988), pp. 185-277; and Magdalino, *Byzantine Background* (see n. 47), pp. 34-8.

on account of the circumstances and the personality of the Norman; but surely he did not foresee that Antioch would be the centre of a state hostile to Byzantium. There is, then, nothing remarkable in the Byzantines' recourse to the classic solution under the treaty of Deabolis whereby Bohemond was confirmed in his assumption of the title of *domesticus* of the East.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Cheynet, 'Antioche' = J.-Cl. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12 (1994), pp. 391-473.
- Cheynet, *Zacos* = J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 2001).
- *Yahyā* = *Histoire de Yahyā ibn-Sa'īd al-Antākī, Continuateur de Sa'īd ibn-Bitrīq*, ed. and trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, I, PO 18 (1924), pp. 700-833; II, PO 23 (1932), pp. 347-520; III, ed. I. Kratchkovsky; French trans. with notes by Françoise Micheau and G. Troupeau, PO 47, fasc. 4 (Turnhout, 1997).

GEORGIAN AND GREEK ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS FROM ANTIOCH

ALEXANDER SAMINSKY*

The systematic study of illuminated books from the Byzantine provinces began only thirty years ago¹. Several manuscripts previously thought to have been produced by the imperial scriptorium in Constantinople² after it was liberated from the Latins in 1261, or still in Nicaea³,

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

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¹ With the dissertation of Annemarie Weyl Carr, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament: Studies toward the Reattribution of Chicago, University Library, Ms. 965*, Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1973.

² E. J. Goodspeed, D.W. Riddle and H.R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, vols 1-3 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932); В.Н. Лазарев, 'Новый памятник константинопольской миниатюры XIII века', *Византийский временник*, 5 (Moscow, 1952), pp. 178-90 (reprint, idem, *Византийская живопись* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 256-74); idem, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), p. 279.

³ S. Der Nersessian's introduction to E.C. Colwell and H.R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, 1 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1936); O. Demus, 'Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei', in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses* (Munich, 1958), pp. 18 ff.; *L'art byzantin, art européen: Neuvième exposition sous l'égide du conseil de l'Europe* (Athens, 1964), nos 299-300, 341; H. Buchthal, 'An Unknown Byzantine Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century', *Connoisseur*, 155 (1964), pp. 217-24.

were recognised as works of the second half of the twelfth century, probably executed in Cyprus or Palestine⁴. The similarity in script and ornament soon made this group so large that it was accepted as an extensive cultural movement widespread in the Levant from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries⁵. It included almost everything that was known from the late Komnenian age to the time of the Latin occupation of Constantinople – more than a hundred manuscripts, yet only three of them had any documentary evidence to support the possibility of a Cypriot-Palestinian origin, namely, the names of the scribe and commissioners⁶. The development of this hypothesis had now reached a point at which its validity was in question⁷.

It was precisely in the course of these studies that the question of the art of Antioch, the main city of the Byzantine East, which was bound to influence the neighbouring regions of Cyprus and Palestine, first arose⁸. Previously, and in spite of its colophon, even MS 61 in the Koutloumousiou Monastery on Mount Athos (with the only known Antiochene miniatures)⁹, was attributed to Cyprus because of the similarity of the miniatures to wall paintings in Cypriot churches, as if Antioch (whose churches have not survived) had never existed¹⁰. Now it has been suggested that the style of the Cypriot wall paintings and book illuminations could have been brought from Antioch and that manuscripts with miniatures similar to the Athonite ones could have come from there too.

⁴ Weyl Carr, *Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (see n. 1), pp. 6-8, 85-9, 313-9.

⁵ A. Cutler and A. Weyl Carr, 'The Psalter Benaki 34.3: An Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400', *Revue des études byzantines*, 34 (1976), pp. 304-23; P. Canart, 'Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e et le style palestino-chypriote "epsilon"', *Scrittura e civiltà*, 5 (1981), pp. 17-76; A. Weyl Carr, 'A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century', *DOP*, 36 (1982), pp. 39-81; eadem, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago and London, 1987).

⁶ Eadem, 'Cyprus and the "Decorative Style"', *Ἐπετηρίδα τοῦ κέντρου ἐπιστημονικῶν ἐρευνῶν Κυπρου*, 17, 1987-1988 (Leukosia, 1989), pp. 123-67, esp. 126-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2.

⁸ Weyl Carr, 'A Group' (see n. 5), p. 52; eadem, *Byzantine Illumination* (see n. 5), pp. 158-9, n. 10; eadem, 'Cyprus' (see n. 6), p. 131.

⁹ G. Mercati, 'Origine antiochena di due codici greci del secolo XI', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68, *Mélanges Paul Peeters*, II (Brussels, 1950), pp. 210-22.

¹⁰ K. Weitzmann, 'An Illustrated New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery', in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. U.E. McCracken a.o. (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 19-38, at p. 20 (reprint in K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1980), IX); Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, I, p. 169, n. 13.

The fact that the Athonite manuscript and its miniatures did come from Antioch can be proved, as we shall see. But extending this argument to other books solely because of the style of their illuminations could be most misleading, as in the case of the Cyprus-Palestine hypothesis. Let us imagine for a moment that the Athonite manuscript was decorated by a visiting master from Cyprus or Palestine. Anything else ascribed to Antioch on the same basis could easily be the product of some other place. It is obvious that only by expanding the circle of authenticated Antiochene works can we build up a reliable picture of the local book art. In this respect Georgian manuscripts can provide a good lead because, unlike Greek ones, they often contain a written record of where they were produced¹¹.

Ever since it was founded under Patriarch Eustathius (325-31) and at least until the middle of the eighth century, the Georgian church belonged to the Antiochene patriarchate, a fact that should not be forgotten¹². The return of Antioch to the empire in 969 revived this old connection. In the eleventh century many Georgian monasteries sprang up on the outskirts of Antioch¹³, and many of the brethren in the main Greek monastery, the Laura of St Symeon the Younger on the Miraculous Mountain, were Georgians¹⁴. Within these monasteries an influential literary school of mediaeval Georgia developed¹⁵; about twenty surviving manuscripts of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, some illuminated, were produced here¹⁶.

In 1054 in the Georgian Monastery of the Virgin in Kalipos¹⁷, near Symeon the Younger's Laura, a manuscript of the Four Gospels and another of the Abgar legend were written and later bound in a single

¹¹ A.L. Saminsky, 'Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from the Region of Antioch (1150's-1170's)', a paper given during the 1998 Moscow Conference at the Institute of Fine Arts History, in *Древнерусское искусство. Искусство рукописной книги. Византия, Древняя Русь* (St Petersburg, Dmitri Boulanin Publishers, 2004), pp. 129-48. (in Russian with an English summary).

¹² Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 64, 72, n. 56.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 86-107; W.Z. Djobadze, 'The Evidence of Georgian Masons in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes', in *II^e Symposium international sur l'art Géorgien* (Tbilisi, 1977); idem, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart, 1986).

¹⁴ P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes: Vie de S. Georges l'Hagiorite', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 36-37, 1917-1919 (Bruxelles [1922]), § 48, p. 113.

¹⁵ L. Menabde, *Seats of Ancient Georgian Literature* (Tbilisi, 1980), II, pp. 152-67 (in Georgian with English summary, pp. 438-9.)

¹⁶ Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 109-11; Menabde, *ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

¹⁷ Djobadze, *ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

book¹⁸. This is the so-called Alaverdi Gospel from the Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, no. A 484¹⁹. The ornament of its decoration, in spite of the fact that the forms are identical to Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the same period, for example, Athens 57²⁰, is based on a radically different aesthetic. This can best be seen from the motifs surrounding the canon tables (*Figs 1, 2*). In the Athens manuscript the smooth curves of the side shoot stems imitate nature and their symmetry corresponds to that of the architectural frame; the symmetrical pattern of the leaves over the corners of the arch corresponds to the geometric bases under the leaves. This fine harmony of natural plasticity and ideal forms reigns throughout. In the Alaverdi Gospel, however, the same shoots have restless, clearly fantastic outlines: from them a short branch points downwards like an arrow and a palmette leaps up from their crown like a tongue of fire. For all the symmetrical arrangement they differ from each other in form, and in the architecture the columns tilt in places, the capitals and bases are shifted to one side and their silhouettes are crooked. There is no question of peace and harmony here. The connecting element is the unrestrained mobility of the pattern and the abruptness of the sudden accents. The bases of the leaves over the corners of the arch come to life, stretching out vigorously towards the ends. The blossoming cross between them shakes its heavy upper vine branches. The hanging icon lamps swing.

¹⁸ The dissimilarity of the book's various parts is reflected, inter alia, in the paradoxical sequence of the colophons, which belong to different periods, of the manuscript's creators and first owners. See Saminsky, 'Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts' (see n. 11), n. 20.

¹⁹ Parchment, 324 ff., 238 x 182mm. 1) *Four Gospels*. Ruling: system Leroy 2, pattern Leroy PC 2 20E2, 19 lines, script area 167 (155) x 110 (92), column width 44mm. Script: 'nuskhuri' (minuscule). 2) *The Abgar Legend*. Ruling: system Leroy 1, patterns Leroy J-R 20ADE2, J-R 21ADE2 b and J-R 22ADE2, 16-17 lines, script area 145 (148) x 100 (106), column width 42 (45). Script: 'asomtavruli' (uncial). А.С. Хаханов, *Экспедиции на Кавказ 1892, 1893 и 1895 г.*, Материалы по археологии Кавказа, 7 (Moscow, 1898), pp. 10-9; Ф.Д. Жордания, *Описание рукописей Тифлисского Церковного музея Карталино-Кахетинского духовенства* (Tbilisi, 1903), II, no. 484; Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 12-20; Institute of Manuscripts. A Description of the Georgian Manuscripts. Collection A, of the Former Church Museum, compiled by T. Bregadze, Ts. Kachabrishvili a.o., ed. E. Metreveli (Tbilisi, 1986), II, 1, pp. 210-6 (in Georgian.); Р.О. Шмерлинг, *Образцы декоративного убранства грузинских рукописей* (Альбом) (Tbilisi, 1940), pls II-V, pp. 20, 30, 46; eadem, 'Художественное оформление грузинской рукописной книги IX-XI столетий' (Tbilisi, 1979), pp. 147-50; Ш.Я. Амиранашвили, *Грузинская миниатюра* (Moscow, 1966), pls 20-5.

²⁰ A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece* (Athens, 1978), I, no. 26.

This ornament is infinitely inferior to the elegance of Constantinople, but its defects are an integral part of a distinctive style quite unlike that of the capital.

The same style is found in a Greek Gospel from St Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, no. 158²¹, – the same candle-like shoots gesticulating with their solitary branches, the crooked colonnades, spreading bases under the leaves at the corners of the arch and the same lively pattern with no attention to symmetry (*Figs 3, 4*). This manuscript is also similar to the Georgian one in its unusually large number of tables, fourteen instead of the seven to ten usual in Constantinople, and several highly effective compositions (*Figs 5, 6*). Here too, the arches are all decorated with hanging icon lamps and a blossoming cross and also finish with a large mosaic cross in a triumphal arch (*Figs 7, 8*).

Alongside the Greek signatures²² on the Sinai manuscript we find Georgian ones²³ of the same period, clear evidence that it was produced in a mixed Greco-Georgian environment. Judging by the remarkable resemblance to the Alaverdi Gospel, this was an environment in the outskirts of Antioch, most probably the Laura of St Symeon the Stylite with the Georgian monastery at Kalipos nearby. The script in the Greek manuscript is dated to the middle of the eleventh century²⁴. The Alaverdi Gospel was produced in 1054.

Unlike the distinctive ornament, the figures of the Evangelists in the Alaverdi manuscript are indistinguishable from Constantinopolitan miniatures of the same period. The splendid proportions, confident spatial arrangement of the figures, complex relief of the folds, inspired faces and artistic Greek inscriptions, nothing here is inferior to the Athens 57 manuscript, for example (*Figs 10-12*). The Georgian writing does not fit into the open Gospels, however. It was clearly added after the miniatures, which were probably painted by a Constantinopolitan Greek artist. The

²¹ Parchment, 308 ff., 225 (227) x 150 (168) mm, the sheets have been trimmed. Ruling: systems Leroy 9, 10, patterns Leroy Xa 20C2 and C 21C2a (in quire 2: ff. 9-16), 21 lines, script area 147 x 100mm, column width 44mm. Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, pp. 9, 136-7, no. 53.

²² There are two sets of Greek signatures: 1. in the lower outer corner of the first and last pages of the quire, and 2. in the lower inner corner of the first page of the quire. The second set is easily seen from f. 89r onwards.

²³ Two sets (in nuskhuri and in asomtavruli), both in the center of the bottom margin on the last page of the quire. The only trace of the first set, in nuskhuri, is on f. 80v.

²⁴ D. Harlfinger, D.R. Reinsch a.o. *Specimina Sinaitica: Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1983), no. 38, pp. 60-1.

frames with their irregular ornament and the sprawling corner decoration were also a local addition. It is easy to see, for example, that the St Matthew frame's ornament repeats that of Eusebius' Letter and the canon tables, which is the work of the Georgian scribes (*Figs 9, 10*). This is clear from the painted initials in Eusebius' Letter and the skilful arrangement of the Greek and Georgian inscriptions on the triumphal image of the cross (*Figs 8, 9*).

The exceptional quality of the parchment for the Gospel in the Alaverdi manuscript, unlike that for the Abgar legend, and the most careful ruling²⁵ suggest that this main section of the book was intended for high aristocratic circles. That would explain why the miniatures for it were commissioned from one of the capital's finest masters. But the master was most probably in Antioch at the time: the measurements of the miniatures correspond to the area of the script on the next page, and the headpieces opposite them reflect the miniatures. Thus, the pose of St Mark rising to his feet is clearly repeated by the curve of the shoot facing him on the left of the headpiece and the zigzags of the stalk between the medallions (*Figs 13, 14*).

The same headpieces as in the Alaverdi Gospel, with all the striking features of its ornamental style, adorn the Athens 76 Greek Gospel (*Figs 15, 16*)²⁶. Judging by this similarity, it belongs to the middle of the eleventh century. The scribe calls himself a monk and priest, so he probably belonged to the same environment that produced the Georgian and Sinai manuscripts. The dull colours and errors in the simple, active pattern suggest that like their scribes he probably executed the headpieces himself. The dull colour of the parchment and ink testifies to his limited means. The miniatures in such a manuscript could hardly have been commissioned from outside, and indeed their frames, vine-covered as in St Mark and St John in the Alaverdi Gospel, but executed by the painter himself, confirm their local origin (*Figs 17, 11, 13*).

The Evangelists here have little in common with the taste of the capital. There we find mobile poses, robes with fluttering edges and airy

²⁵ See note 19 above. The vertical lines of the ruling pattern do not intrude into the margins, which, as Julien Leroy observes, is the case only in manuscripts prepared with exceptional care. J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976), pp. vi, XXI-II.

²⁶ Parchment, 387 ff., 208 x 160mm. Ruling: systems Leroy 1 and 9, patterns Leroy 20D2, D 22D2a, D 21D2a, C 22C2a, 19 lines, script area 119 x 97mm. Marava-Chatzini-colaou and Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue* (see n. 20), i, no. 25; I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), no. 324.

colours, aristocratic faces that reflect the inspired working of the intellect by a fine play of light; the furniture barely touches the ground, the inscriptions melt in flourishes, and the halos all but merge into the background (*Fig. 18*). Here the figure and objects are firmly attached to the frame and to one another. The edges and folds of the robes are static, as if carved in stone. The contrasts of colour and light are piercing. The face is in deep shadow and the expression is immobile (*Fig. 17*). Instead of an inspired philosopher we have an austere recluse, instead of creation – struggle, instead of inspiration – determination. This is a different artistic culture and a different spiritual ideal.

The same tradition can be sensed in the above-mentioned manuscript 61 from the Koutloumousiou Monastery (*Fig. 19*)²⁷. This lectionary was produced between 1065 and 1070²⁸, and the artist here was familiar with Constantinopolitan images, such as the miniatures in the Alaverdi Gospel, from which the image of St Peter instructing St Mark was taken (*Fig. 13*)²⁹. It may have been under the influence of these impressions and in connection with the general course of Byzantine art in the second half of the eleventh century, that the colouring grew softer and the representations flatter and lighter. Yet local taste can be seen in the extremely sharp relief and expression of the face, the monumental figure expanded by the robes into a square slab, the abrupt drawing of the cloth with its end plunging into the footstool like a dagger, and the heavy silhouettes of the furniture firmly attached to the figure and the frame. The ornament of prickly lozenges reflects the tension and harshness of this image and enhances it even further.

As Giovanni Mercati pointed out, the commissioner of the Gospel lectionary from Koutloumousiou, the priest Leo Sarbandinós, also commissioned the Psalter in Paris, gr. 164, copied by a chorister at St Peter's cathedral in Antioch in 1070³⁰. Mercati therefore concludes that both books come from this city. The headpiece for the Matthew readings

²⁷ Parchment, 278 ff, 343 x 260mm. Ruling: system Leroy 1, pattern Leroy 44C2, 20 lines, script area 220 x 175mm. S.P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1895), I. p. 280; S.M. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou a.o., *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Athens, 1974), I, figs 300-4. pp. 452-3.

²⁸ Mercati, 'Origine antiochena di due codici greci' (see n. 9), pp. 215-7.

²⁹ G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Wien, 1979), p. 57, fig. 27; R.S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980), p. 82, figs 60, 61.

³⁰ Mercati, 'Origine antiochena di due codici greci' (see n. 9).

confirms this beyond all doubt (*Fig. 22*)³¹. Although it differs greatly from the ornament of Georgian and Greek scribes in Antioch in the mid-eleventh century, its unnatural side shoots formed by a drooping leaf on a tall stem and the palmette standing on it indicate local origin. The fine link with the composition of the neighbouring miniature and the same colouring show that in this case it was the artist himself who painted the headpiece and not the scribe (*Figs 21, 22*)³². Finally, the ruling of the sheets with miniatures, which is the same as in the text³³, and, on their upper field, the names of the Evangelists written in the script of the heading on the next page, leave no doubt that they originally belonged to a manuscript produced in Antioch. It is likely that the painter of these miniatures was not a Greek-speaking person: traces of unknown writing³⁴ can be seen on Luke's shoulder, where the paint is erased (*Fig. 20*).

The tradition represented by the manuscripts from Athens and Koutloumousiou appears again in a slightly different way in the illustrations to the Abgar legend in the Alaverdi Gospel³⁵. The level of execution here is inferior to that in the main part of the book: the quality of the parchment and the ruling is poorer. Consequently the miniatures here must also have been entrusted to a local master and not a visiting artist from the capital. The facial types, their angular relief cut by deep furrows, and the ecstatically narrowed pupils are similar to the Koutloumousiou manuscript, in spite of the great difference in size between the

³¹ Pelekanidis, Christou a.o., *Treasures of Mount Athos* (see n. 27), I, fig. 301.

³² See note 11.

³³ The representations of the Evangelists are on sheets 50v, 77v and 112v-in quires 8, 11 and 15. Composition of the quires: 9 (8+1: single f. 50: 57), 9 (8+1: single f. 77: 81), 9 (6+1+1+1: single ff. 108, 109 и 112: 113). The sheets with the miniatures have ruling by impression. After ruling, sheet 112 was turned upside down. The area of the miniatures, 214 x 192mm (Matthew), 234 x 190mm (Luke) and 216 x 193mm (Mark), corresponds to that of the script, as is evident (see n. 27).

³⁴ D.A. Morozov suggests that this is Georgian writing. Z. Alexidze believes the traces are too small for identification.

³⁵ The Abgar Legend occupies sheets 316v-323v. It is illustrated by a frontispiece image of Abgar lying on a couch and handing a messenger his letter to Christ (316v) and four miniatures inserted in the narrow columns of the text: Christ writing a reply to Abgar (318r), the Mandyllion (320v), a view of Hierapolis with a fiery pillar on the spot where the Mandyllion was hidden (321v), and the Baptism of Abgar (323v). Z. Skhirtladze, 'Canonizing the Apocrypha: The Abgar Cycle in the Alaverdi and Gelati Gospels', in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. H.L. Kessler and G. Wolf (Bologna, 1998), pp. 79-80. The author is mistaken in the order of the miniatures, the sheet numbers and in identifying the fourth miniature as 'a view of the gateway of Edessa'.

two sets of miniatures (*Figs 23, 24*). The excited colour with a mass of red shades reminds us of the Athonite Gospel. It would seem that these devices and, most important, the spiritual ideal behind them, were stable features of Antiochene art, at least throughout the twenty or thirty years covered by these manuscripts.

Paradoxical confirmation of this is found in yet another small Georgian Gospel from the Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, S 962³⁶. It was written in the same year as the Alaverdi manuscript and shares the same distinctive ornamental features executed as usual by the scribe himself (*Figs 25, 26*). It also contains hundreds of gold initials before each of the Eusebius sections and other ornament not found in the Alaverdi manuscript. In short, it is a sumptuous work. So it is not surprising that the miniatures, like the Alaverdi Evangelists, show the participation of a Constantinopolitan master. The representation of Matthew here is quite different from the Antiochene specimens with their almost square frame and awkward figure that almost reaches the top (*Fig. 27*). The frame here is twice as high, so the Evangelist fits comfortably in the middle and the large building at the back, looming over him, deliberately indicates the unexpected spaciousness of this arrangement. The figure is perfectly proportioned and the pose natural. The architecture helps the Evangelist's slant with rows of tiles running over the roof and the folds convey all the details of his movement in threads of sensitive highlights. The face is pensive and profound. This miniature is quite unlike the Alaverdi Gospel – all sorts of different masters came from the capital to visit or settle in Antioch's monasteries. In the miniature of Luke, which is the same height, the furniture is standing on the frame, so it looks overcrowded (*Fig. 28*). The figure, like the furniture, is placed further down, so that Luke's shins are wedged between a table and a stool, while the torso is straightened up and appended to the building. The proportions are unbalanced, which enhances the unnatural stability of the new position. A harsh network of highlights covers the robes. The sharp hooked nose and enormous eyes give the face a somewhat grim expression of extreme tension. This

³⁶ Parchment, 266 ff., 158 x 122mm. Ruling: system Leroy 1, pattern Leroy 20E2, 20-21 lines, script area 112 (115) x 72 (78) mm, column width 30-31mm. Script 'asomtavruli'. *A Guide to the State Museum of Georgia* (Tbilisi, 1952), pp. 33-36 (in Georgian); *Institute of Manuscripts: A Description of the Georgian Manuscripts in Collection (S) of the Former Society for the Spread of Literacy among the Georgian Population*, 1, compiled by T. Bregadze, T. Eukidze a.o., ed. E. Metreveli (Tbilisi, 1959), pp. 626-7 (in Georgian); Шмерлинг, *Художественное оформление* (see p. 19), pp. 151-3.

is obviously a local master trying to imitate an artist from the capital, but unable to escape from his customary devices.

An unusual case of such imitation can be seen in a Georgian Gospel from the History Museum in Kutaisi, no. 76, written in the Monastery of the Virgin in Kalipos in 1060³⁷. The scribe had not yet learnt how to make the ornament in his book look Greek (*Fig. 29*) and he also commissioned the miniatures from a master who had learnt his skills in Georgia. Evidence of this is found in the openly ornamental edges of the robes, which are repeated with no changes from figure to figure as in Georgian chasing (*Figs 31, 32*)³⁸. Judging by the figures of John and Prochorus the master was working from a Constantinopolitan model of the late tenth or early eleventh century, such as the Paris gr. 230 manuscript with its strong attachment to classicism (*Figs 33, 34*)³⁹. On the Georgian miniature, however, the cushion behind Prochorus's back and the stool with only two legs show that he saw this specimen as an ornamental set of forms, outside their connection in space. In exactly the same way the furniture of the seated Evangelists, which is levelled out along the upper and lower edge of the objects, forms a single, unchanged silhouette in spite of the different poses and dimensions of the figures (*Figs 31, 32*).

It should be noted that the Kutaisi Gospel has nothing in common with the Alaverdi one produced six years earlier in the same monastery. This must mean that there was no special school of book illumination there, different from the local Antiochene tradition. Thus the clumsy canon tables of the Kutaisi manuscript follow the Georgian Gospel produced at the same time, but in another out-of-town monastery, in the Reed Valley (*Figs 29, 30*)⁴⁰.

³⁷ Parchment, 353 ff., 220 x 170mm. Ruling: systems Leroy 2, 1 (quire 43) and 11 (quire 44), pattern Leroy 20E2, 20 lines, script area 137 x 106mm, column width 48mm. 'Ценная археологическая находка: Древнегрузинское Евангелие 1060г', *Кавказ: Газета политическая и литературная*, 17.09.1891, no. 245, p. 2; T. Jordania, *Chronicles*, 1 (Tbilisi, 1893), pp. 207-8 (in Georgian); *Description of the Manuscripts at the History Museum in Kutaisi*, 1 (Tbilisi, 1953), pp. 215-6 (in Georgian); Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 20-2; Menabde, *Seats of Ancient Georgian Literature* (see n. 15), II, p. 159.

³⁸ Г.Н. Чубинашвили, *Грузинское чеканное искусство* (Tbilisi, 1959), figs 130, 131, 137, 156, 375.

³⁹ K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), p. 29.

⁴⁰ Parchment, 320 ff., 166 x 130mm, the sheets have been trimmed. Ruling: system Leroy 2, pattern Leroy 20E2, 20 lines, script area 119 (120) x 79 (90) mm, column width 35mm. М. Джанашвили, *Описание рукописей Церковного Музея*, III (Tbilisi, 1908), pp. 59-67; Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 47-9; Шмерлинг, *Художественное оформление* (see n. 19), pp. 153-7, pls 45-7.

After 1060 our guiding thread from Georgian illuminated manuscripts of Antiochene origin disappears for a long time. (Many monasteries near the city were burnt down and the brethren slaughtered when the area was devastated by Emir Afshin in 1066). The end of this thread, however, takes us to Gospel H 1791 from the Tbilisi Institute of Manuscripts produced, in the scribe's words, 'when the Armenians took Antioch', that is, in 1213-16⁴¹. The sole surviving headpiece here, of poor material and crude execution, nevertheless contains important evidence, namely, the fact that characteristic ornamental features used by Antiochene scribes in the eleventh century survived, albeit with certain changes, until the early thirteenth. There is a blossoming cross above the headpiece, palmettes at the corners on living crossbeams sprouting at the ends, and a shoot with a solitary branch pointing sideways on a stem and a candle-like top by the base on the right (*Fig. 35*). This enables us to assume Antiochene works or their reflection in several more manuscripts of the twelfth century.

First and foremost, there is the Heavenly Ladder from St Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, no. 418, one of the most richly illuminated Greek books of the first half of the twelfth century⁴². In style it is regarded as being extremely close to the Paris manuscript gr. 550⁴³, which is thought to be of Constantinopolitan origin⁴⁴. The opinion has been expressed, however, that its ornament shows a provincial clumsiness of execution and the influence of Islamic and Christian-Arabic manuscripts, suggesting that it originated in a border area such as Palestine or Mount Sinai itself⁴⁵. Finally, as has long been noted, the strange, Eastern

⁴¹ Д.З. Бакрадзе, *Сванетия*, in *Записки Кавказского отдела Русского Географического Общества*, 6 (Tbilisi, 1864), p. 108; А.С. Хаханов, *Сванетские рукописные Евангелия*, *Материалы по археологии Кавказа*, 10 (Moscow, 1904), p. 18; *A Description of Georgian Manuscripts in the State Museum of Georgia*, ed. E. Metreveli (Tbilisi, 1950), p. 218 (in Georgian); Menabde, *Seats of Ancient Georgian Literature* (see n. 15), p. 156.

⁴² Parchment, 313 ff., 173 x 142mm, the sheets have been severely trimmed. Ruling: system Leroy 1, patterns Leroy 32D1 and 33D1a, 22 lines, script area 124 x 92mm. J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 5 (Princeton, N.J., 1954) pp. 87, 187-9, figs 174-216; Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, no. 57.

⁴³ Martin, *ibid.*, pp. 187-9.

⁴⁴ G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 6 (Princeton, N.J., 1969). pp. 242-5; Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, p. 161.

⁴⁵ Н.П. Кондаков, *Путешествие на Синай в 1881 году* (Odessa, 1882), pp. 153 ff.; N.P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II (Paris, 1891), pp. 134 ff.; Martin, *Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder* (see n. 42), pp. 187-9; Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, pp. 161-2.

character of its frontispiece with a heraldic bird and lions recalls the Norman mosaics in the Royal Palace at Palermo⁴⁶. All these conflicting facts can be reconciled if we assume that the manuscript was produced in the Norman principality of Antioch, after the victory over it by John II Komnenos in 1137, which probably promoted the growth of Byzantine influence. Visiting masters may then have worked together with the local scribe-decorators again, but in an environment where Norman taste made itself felt. The side shoots in the Sinai manuscript often repeat the characteristic forms of Antiochene décor: the solitary branch pointing downwards, the palmette placed on the curved top of the stem, as in the Koutloumousiou manuscript 61, and the riotous, gesticulating vine (*Fig. 37*)⁴⁷.

The Paris manuscript gr. 550 itself⁴⁸ is similar to the Sinai Ladder in more than just style of painting and ornamental devices. A special, temperamental script reveals that they are the work of the same scribe (*Fig. 38*)⁴⁹. What is more, its ornament is also inferior to genuine Constantinopolitan specimens in perfection of execution and, most importantly, reveals quite different values. Its strength lies not in the perfect symmetry, harmonic rhythm and elegant forms characteristic of the capital, but in spontaneous mobility and sharpness. The same features can be seen in Antiochene books of the mid-eleventh century. The Sinai and Paris manuscripts were nourished by their almost century-long tradition⁵⁰.

The Georgian Gospel H 2806 from the Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi contains no information about its origin⁵¹. The representations

⁴⁶ Martin, *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁷ Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, figs 592, 597-9, 605, 621, 630.

⁴⁸ Parchment, 292 ff., 255 x 190mm, the sheets have been trimmed. Ruling: system Leroy 1, pattern Leroy 32D1, 27 lines, script area 175 (183) x 125 (140). H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), pp. 198-203; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), pp. 52-4, pls CVI-CXV; Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (see n. 44), pp. 25-6, 242-5, figs 398-427.

⁴⁹ This impression was confirmed by N.F. Kavrus and B.L. Fonkich independently of each other. Writing this, I was unaware of the important article by F. D'Aiuto, 'Si alcuni copisti di codici miniati mediobizantini', *Byzantion*, 67, 1 (1997), pp. 5-59, which establishes the identity of the script in Sin.gr. 418 and Paris gr. 550, and yet another illuminated manuscript in Venice, Marciana gr. Z 57, , at pp. 7-25. The illumination of the Venice manuscript seems to be closely related to the ones in Paris and on Sinai: Oriente Cristiano e Santità, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 2 luglio - 14 novembre 1998, no. 25, pp. 196-7.

⁵⁰ Victor Lazarev suggested that the manuscript was produced in a provincial monastery: Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (see n. 2), p. 193.

⁵¹ Parchment, 355 ff., 204 x 150mm. Ruling: system Leroy 1, patterns Leroy 21D2 b and 44D2, 21 lines, script area 146 x 101mm. *A Description of the Georgian Manuscripts in the State Museum of Georgia: The Manuscripts of the Former Museum of the Geor-*

of the Evangelists here follow the Kutaisi Manuscript of 1060: the same poses, ornamental edges of the robes and their unchanged colours (*Figs 39 and 31, 40 and 32*). The style, however, clearly indicates the end of the twelfth century: the mobile lines of the folds, the light, carved furniture, the fine faces and their dense painting are all typical of this period. The canon tables, crude and primitive in the Kutaisi Gospel, have been executed by the author of the miniatures here and contain almost the whole repertoire and, of course, all the striking features of Antiochene ornament (*Fig. 41*). So this manuscript is not simply a late copy of the Kutaisi one. Yet it could hardly have been written in Antioch. The side shoots have elegant, identical curves quite unlike the unnatural joints and sudden accents so delightful in genuine Antiochene works. The crossbeams under the corner palmettes have acquired chiselled, finished forms that cannot be called living or growing. Everything in the ornament is measured and precise. Gone are the irregularities, rapid drawing and temperamental clashes of different forms. In other words, the heart and soul of the style has disappeared. Its forms have been adapted to a completely different taste, very close to the so-called Mestia Gospel written in Georgia in 1033, but freshly illustrated at the end of the twelfth century (*Fig. 42*)⁵². Yet these forms are not simply an anachronism. The very richness of the ornamental repertoire suggests that the production of new manuscripts from Antioch continued throughout the twelfth century. Moreover certain motifs seem close to the Sinai Ladder⁵³.

Familiar features of Antiochene décor can also be found in another Georgian Gospel from Tbilisi, A 516 (*Fig. 36*)⁵⁴. The simple shoots by

gian Society of History and Ethnography (collection H), vi, compiled by N. Kasradze, E. Metreveli a.o., ed. A. Baramidze (Tbilisi, 1953), pp. 195-196 (in Georgian).

⁵² A. Saminsky, 'A Reference to Jerusalem in a Georgian Gospel book', in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, published in a special issue of *Jewish Art*, 23/24, 1997/98 (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 354-69; idem, 'Местийское Евангелие: Лик Грузии на фоне Византии', in *Древнерусское искусство. Русь и страны византийского мира: XII век* (St Petersburg, 2002), pp. 147-78.

⁵³ The zigzag ornament on the frames of several miniatures in the Sinai Ladder, for example, f. 177r (Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, fig. 618) is repeated by the headpiece of the Gospel of St Matthew in the Georgian manuscript, and the foliate forms in the corner medallions on f. 259r (*ibid.*, fig. 627) by the headpiece of the Gospel of St Luke.

⁵⁴ Parchment, 315 ff., 240 x 185mm. Ruling: system Leroy 2, pattern Leroy 40E2, 21 lines (22 lines in the Eusebios Letter), script area 165 x 102mm, column width 45mm. Ф.Д. Жордания, *Описание рукописей и старопечатных книг Церковного музея*

the canon tables undoubtedly belong to the scribe⁵⁵. They can hardly be seen as an imitation of books from Antioch, as in the preceding example; particularly because at first glance the ornament on the arches of the tables has nothing in common with the above-mentioned manuscripts. More likely the scribe himself was the bearer of the late and, it would appear, declining Antiochene tradition: the stiff, geometrical drawing of the shoots here is similar to the Gospel of 1213-16 (*Fig. 35*). The miniatures in his manuscript differ greatly from the tables in their remarkably high quality, however (*Figs 43, 44*)⁵⁶. Their compositions, with the building behind the Evangelist's back and the furniture crowded onto the frame, repeat Antiochene manuscripts of the eleventh century. The style, characteristic of Byzantine painting as a whole in the 1200s, bears a clear provincial imprint and in certain devices is close to Cypriot wall painting. Thus, the pairs of parallel folds edging the even surfaces on John's legs and elbow are found there, beginning with the 1106 Asinou frescoes, while their expressive contour pattern, as in Mark, and the fine light relief of the faces are similar to the 1192 frescoes at Lagoudera. This similarity would seem to confirm that the manuscript really did originate in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. Yet it does not relate to the essence of the style of these miniatures, which is far removed from the agitated lines and demonstrative emotions characteristic of Cypriot painting. What we have here may be the last trace of the art of Antioch, which even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, after all the influences and changes, still retained its own special face.

Thanks to Georgian illuminated manuscripts that come, according to their colophons, from the surroundings of Antioch, we have explained

духовенства Грузинской епархии (Tbilisi, 1901), section 1, pp. 66-7. According to the colophons published by Jordania, the manuscript was produced by a certain Yakov and commissioned by Mana, the daughter of Ivane Makhatlisdze and the wife of Sargis Glonistavi. An analysis of these colophons in the manuscript made by Dr Tamila Mgaloblishvili confirmed that they belong to the scribe himself. Dr Mzia Surguladze has pointed out that Ivane was a Georgian noble from a rich landowning family at the time of Queen Tamara (see *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, ed. S. Kaukhchishvili (Tbilisi, 1959), II, pp. 55, 61, 130 (in Georgian).

⁵⁵ Eusebius' Letter (1r-2v) is written by the same hand as the Gospel, and the canon tables (3r-6v) are in the same quire.

⁵⁶ Dr Mzia Surguladze has pointed out that the commissioner's name Mana is mentioned in the inscription under each miniature. The miniatures of Matthew (10v) and Mark (86v) are on sheets belonging to text quires. Luke (141v) and John (232v) are on separate sheets, but executed in the same hand. The area of the miniatures, 157/159 x 93/103mm, corresponds to the script area, 165 x 102mm.

that from the middle of the eleventh to the beginning of the thirteenth century this area had its own style of ornamental décor, which has provided the basis for our attributions. There are also manuscripts, however, which show that this style was exported to different regions of the eastern Mediterranean and, consequently, does not necessarily mean that the manuscript in question came from Antioch. A year after the tale of Abgar in the Alaverdi manuscript was completed, the scribe moved near Jerusalem and with the help of a pupil produced a collection of the Homilies and Life of Basil the Great, now in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate, Georgian 14⁵⁷. The headpiece produced by him naturally retains all the authentic expressiveness of the Antiochene style and is a proper work of Antioch book art (*Fig. 45*). His diligent pupil, however, could only produce a lifeless repetition of Antiochene forms (*Fig. 46*). The exported style inevitably changed, as can also be seen from the above-mentioned manuscript H 2806 from Tbilisi, an Antiochene one to all appearances, but in fact produced in Georgia⁵⁸. Thus ornamental décor can serve as a reliable guide to the origin of a work after all.

This guide has enabled us to establish the Antiochene origin of several Greek manuscripts, the miniatures of which turned out to belong to an independent local tradition that was very striking in the eleventh century and may have survived, together with a distinctive ornamental décor, up to the beginning of the thirteenth. Moreover, both Greek and

⁵⁷ Parchment, 496 ff., 370 x 280 (285) mm, the sheets have been trimmed along the top. Ruling: pattern Leroy 201D, 27-28 lines, script area 250 (260) x 162 (178) mm; from quire 11 (f. 77) – pattern Leroy 20E2, column width 79-83mm. А.А. Цагарели, *Памятники грузинской старины в Св. Земле и на Синае*, Православный палестинский сборник, IV, 1 (St Petersburg, 1888), appendix 1, 'Каталог грузинских рукописей монастыря Св. Креста близ Иерусалима', no. 105 (reprint А.А. Цагарели, *Сведения о памятниках грузинской письменности*, II (St Petersburg, 1889)); R.P. Blake, 'Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, troisième série, 3 (XXIV) [1924], pp. 380-5, no. 14.

⁵⁸ Two Georgian Gospels can also be classed as remote reflections of the Antioch style of ornament: Athos, Iviron, 62, eleventh century, probably written on Mount Athos (R.P. Blake, 'Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la laure d'Iviron au mont Athos', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, troisième série, 9 (XXIX) (1933-1934), p. 251, no. 62), and Moscow, State Historical Museum, Shchu. 760, which according to a colophon translated for me by Irma Karaulashvili was produced in 1068 or 1070 in the Georgian monastery of Romana near Constantinople. The Moscow manuscript has just been published: E.N. Dobrynina, 'The Unknown Georgian Illuminated Manuscript from the State Historical Museum, Shchu. 760' (in Russian with an English summary), in *Хрустальный: Сборник статей к юбилею Г.З. Быковой* (Moscow 2003), pp. 259-307. Here it is attributed to Antioch in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

Georgian manuscripts show that this style was not isolated from outside influences. Constantinopolitan artists frequently worked in Antioch and made a great impression on local masters.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

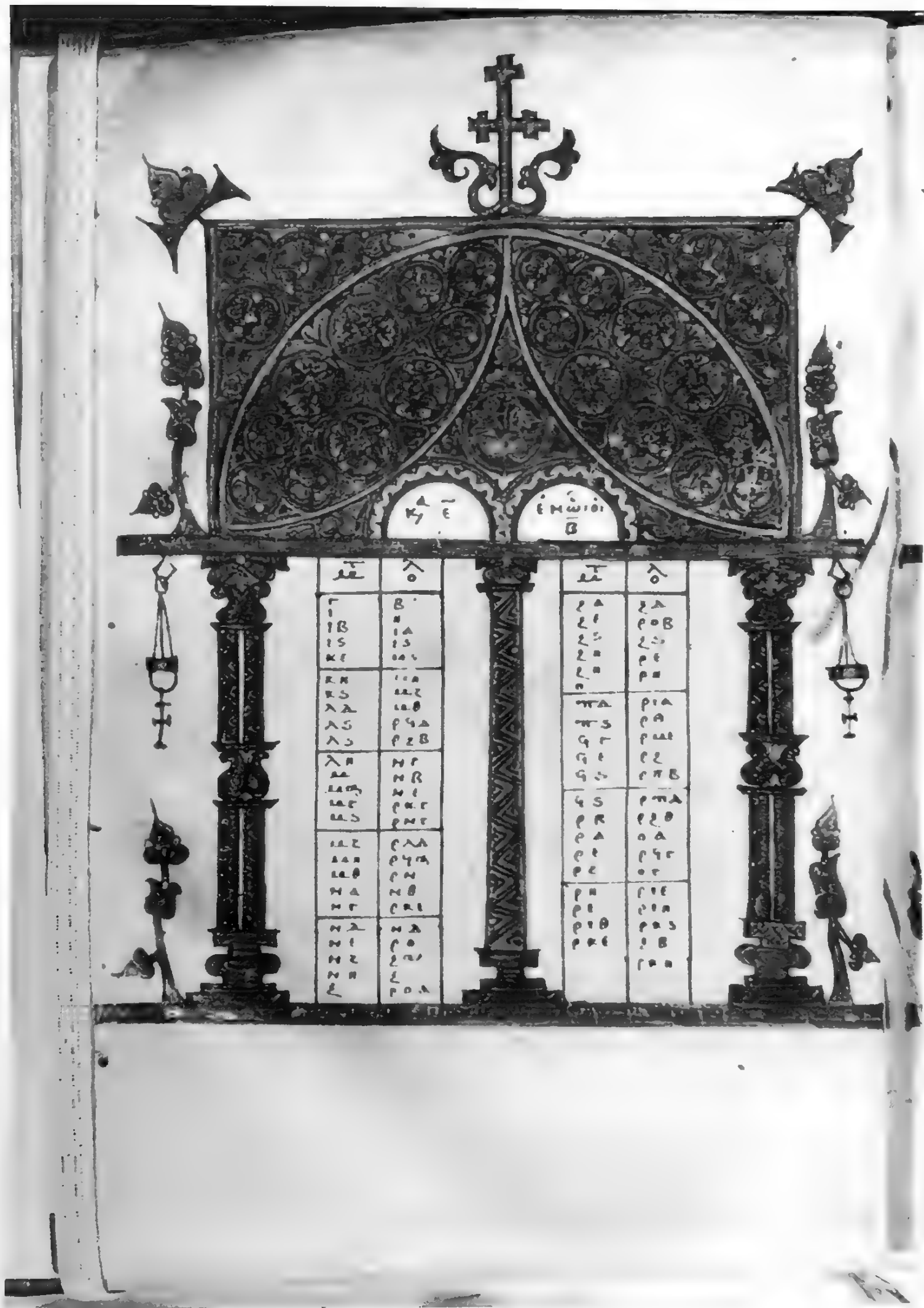
- Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine* = K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).
- Djobadze, *Materials* = W.Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, Editum consilio Universitatis Catholicae Americae et Universitatis Catholicae Lovaniensis, vol. 372, Subsidia, tomus 48 (Leuven, 1976).



1. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 4r. Canon II



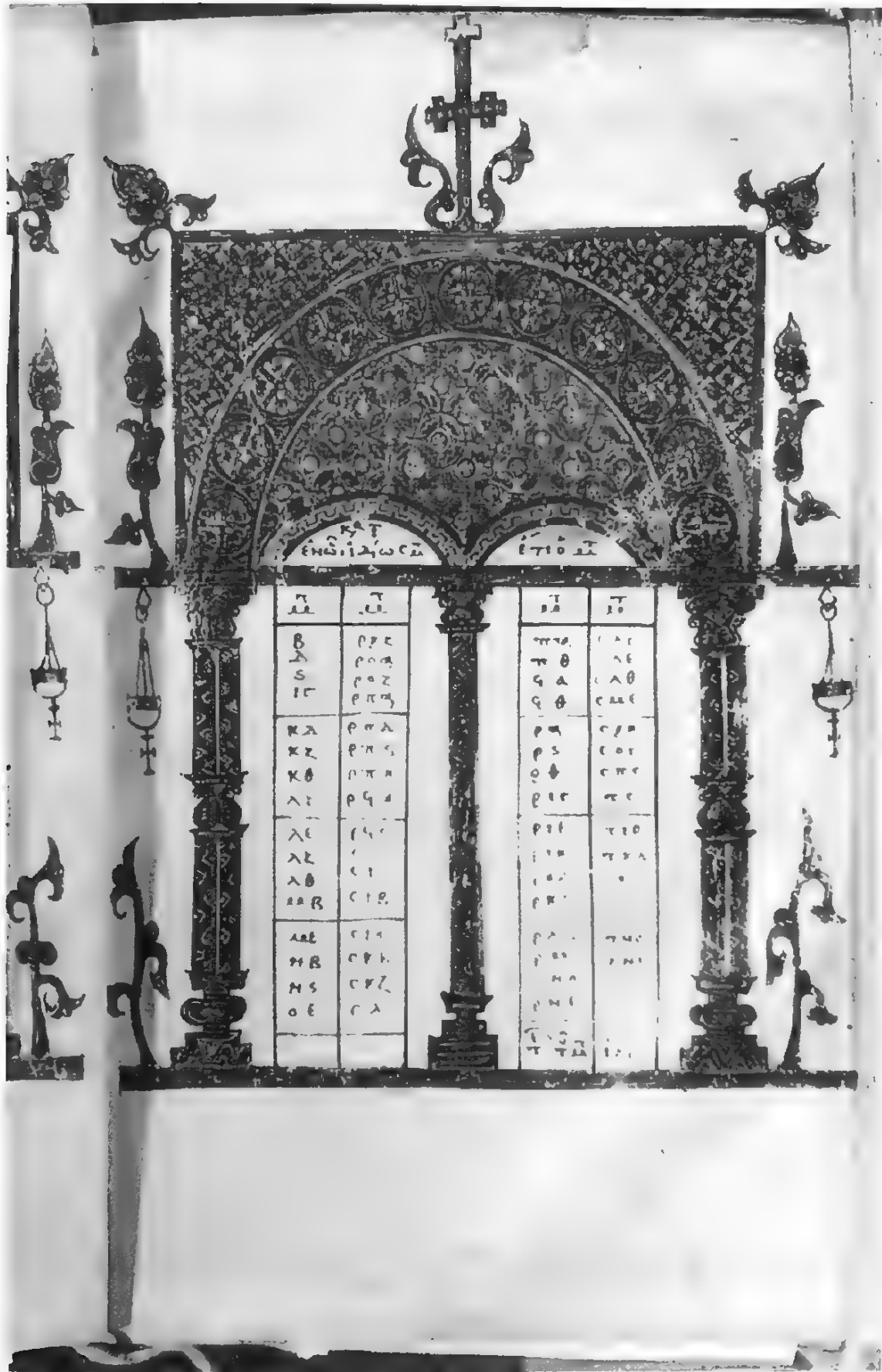
2. Athens, National Library, 57, f. 9v. Canon I



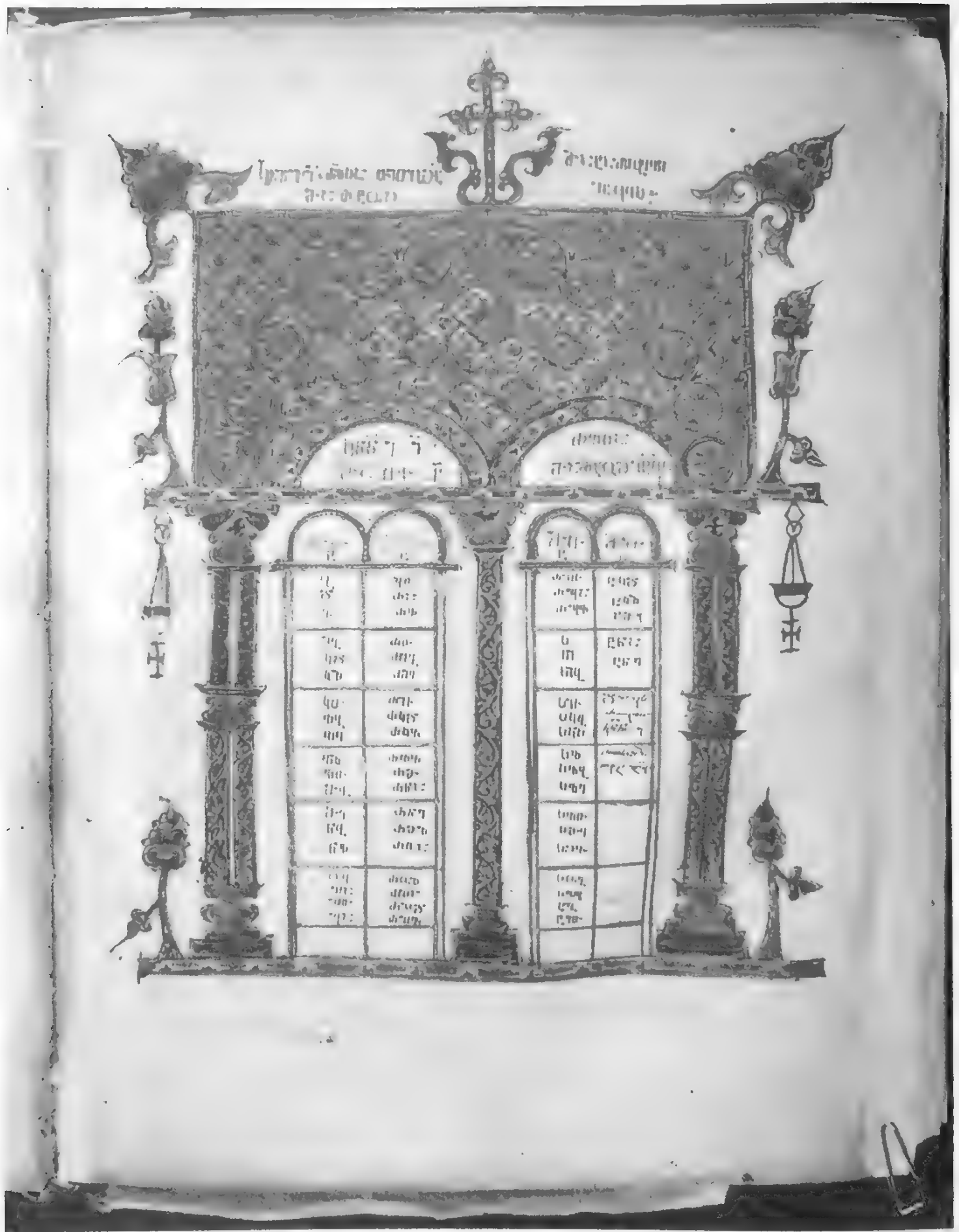
3. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, 158, f. 4v. Canon v



4. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 8v. Canon x (St Mark, St Luke)



5. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, 158, f. 7r. Canon x (St Matthew)



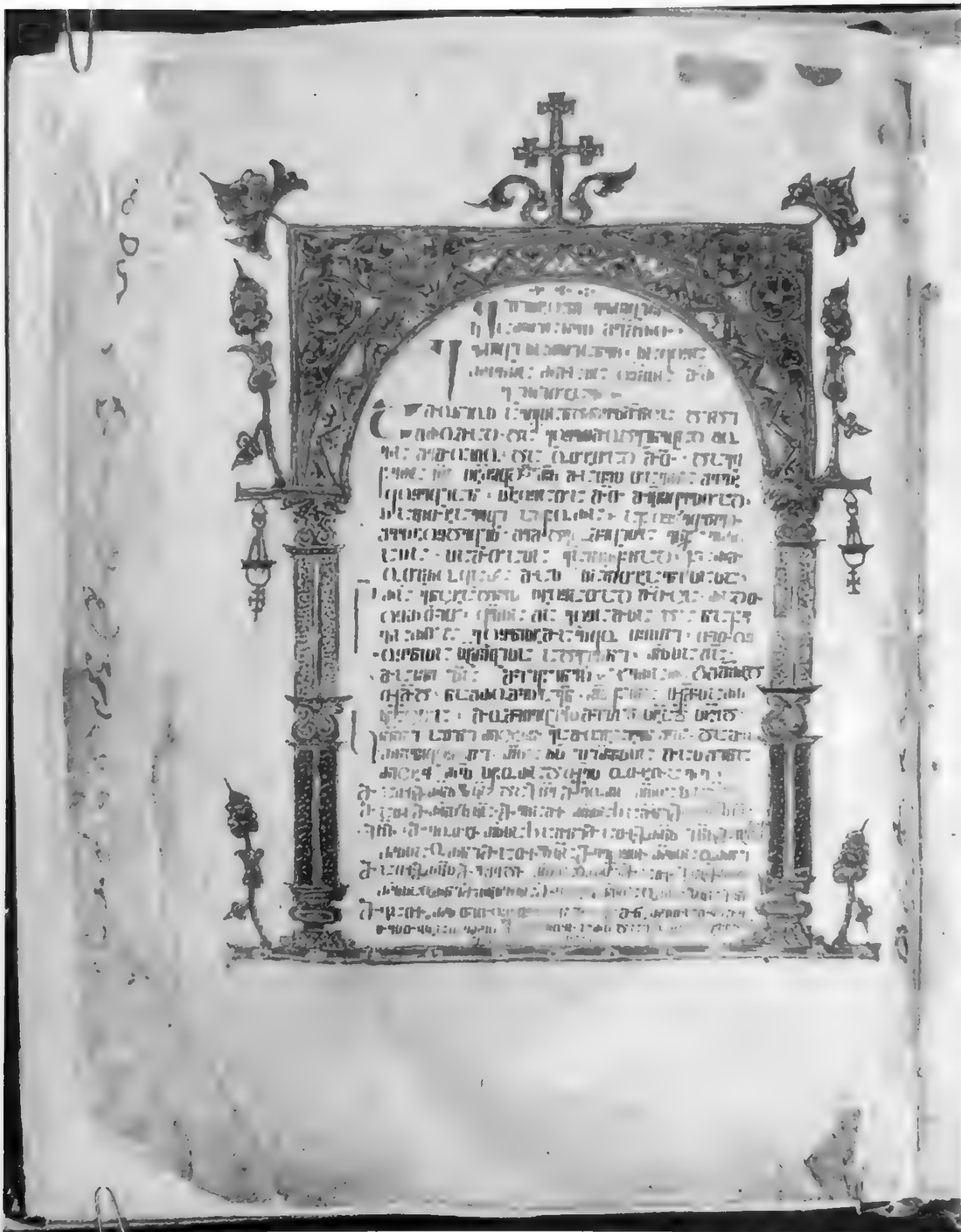
6. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 8r. Canon x (St Matthew)



7. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, 158, f. 10v. The Cross



8. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 9v. The Cross



9. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 1v. Eusebius' Letter



10. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 14v. St Matthew



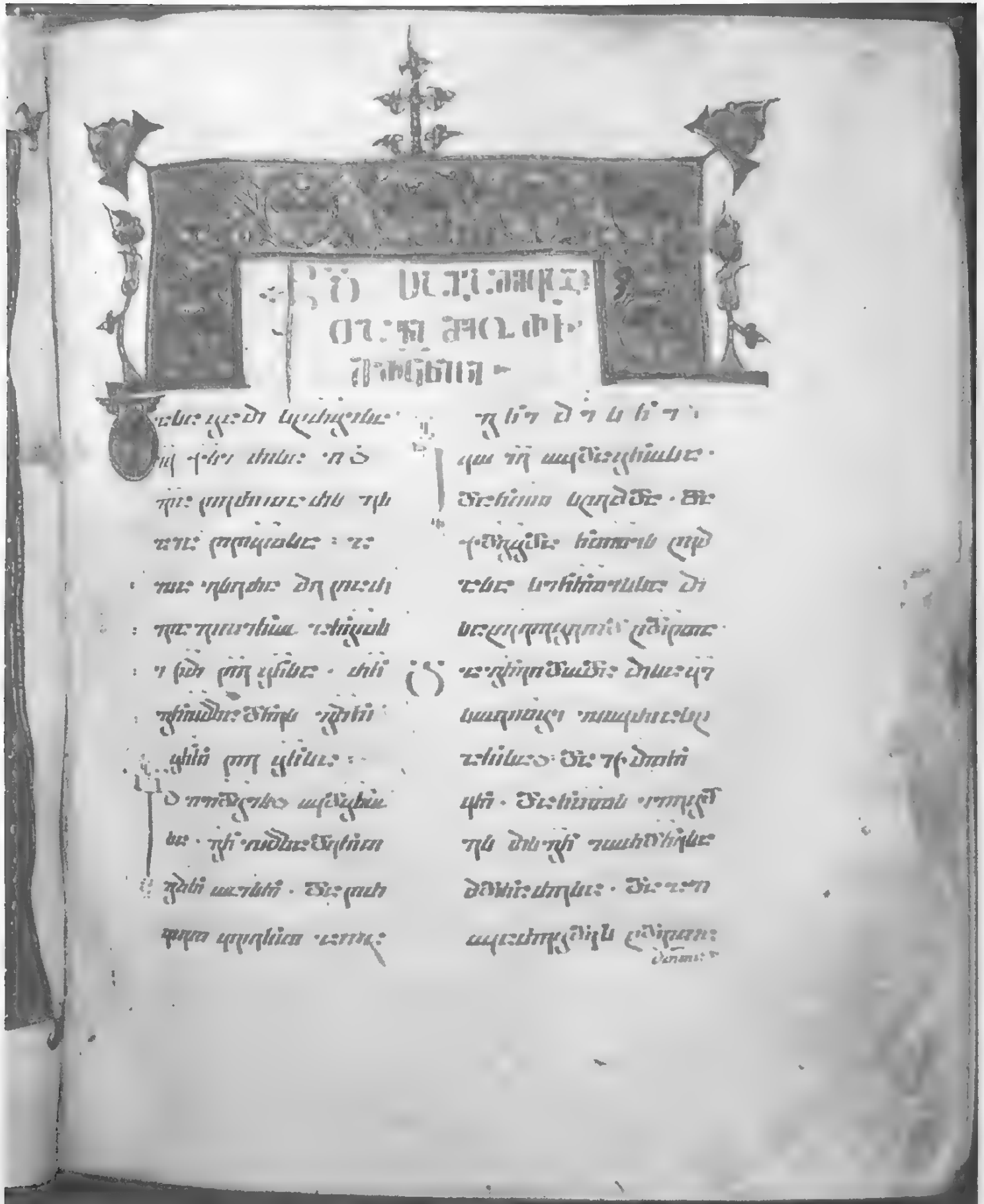
11. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 243v. St John



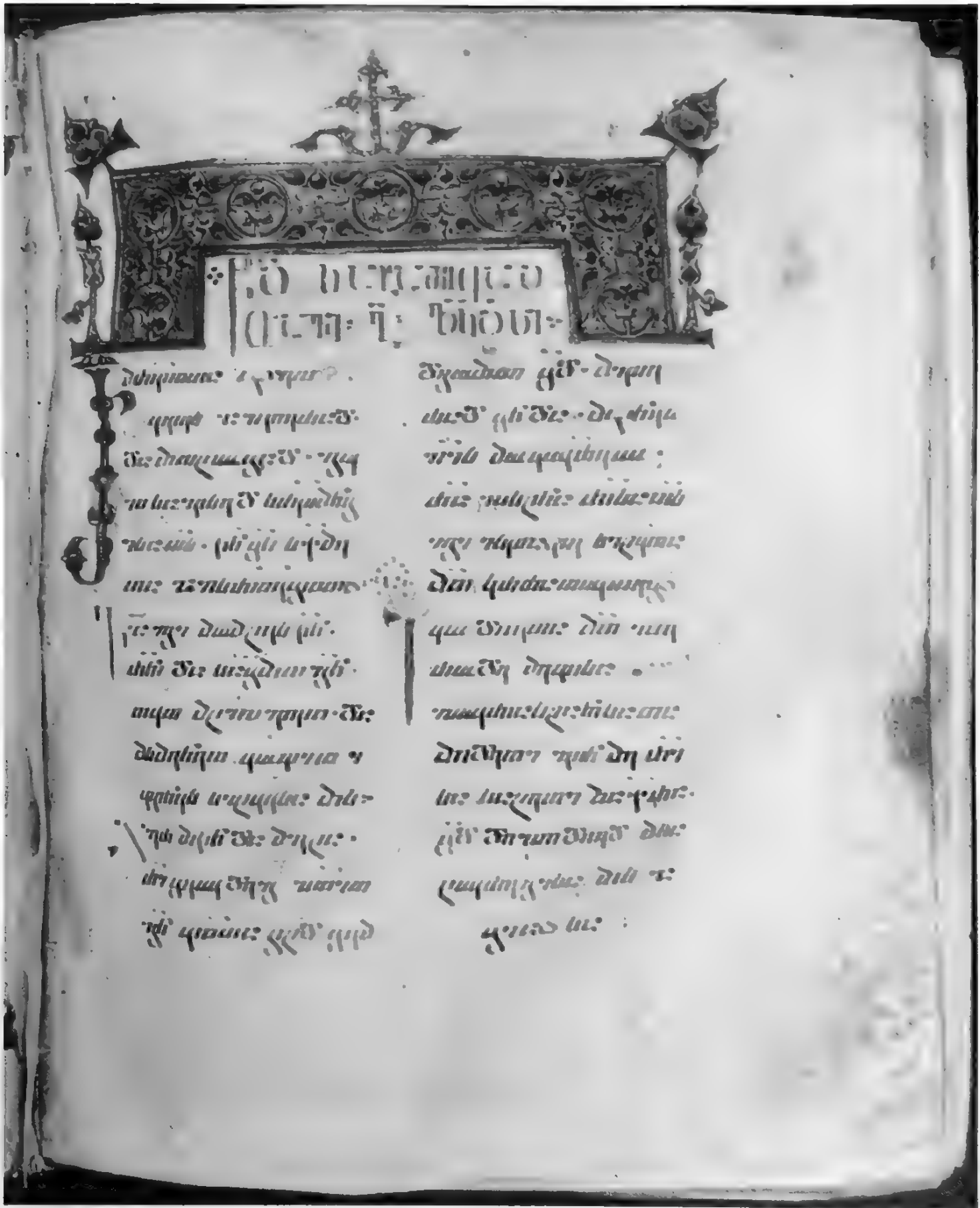
12. Athens, National Library, 57, f. 265v. St John



13. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 101v. St Mark



14. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 102r. Gospel of St Mark



15. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f.157r. Gospel of St Luke



16. Athens, National Library, 76, f. 295r. Gospel of St John



17. Athens, National Library, 76, f. 17v. St Matthew



18. Athens, National Library, 57, f. 15v. St Matthew



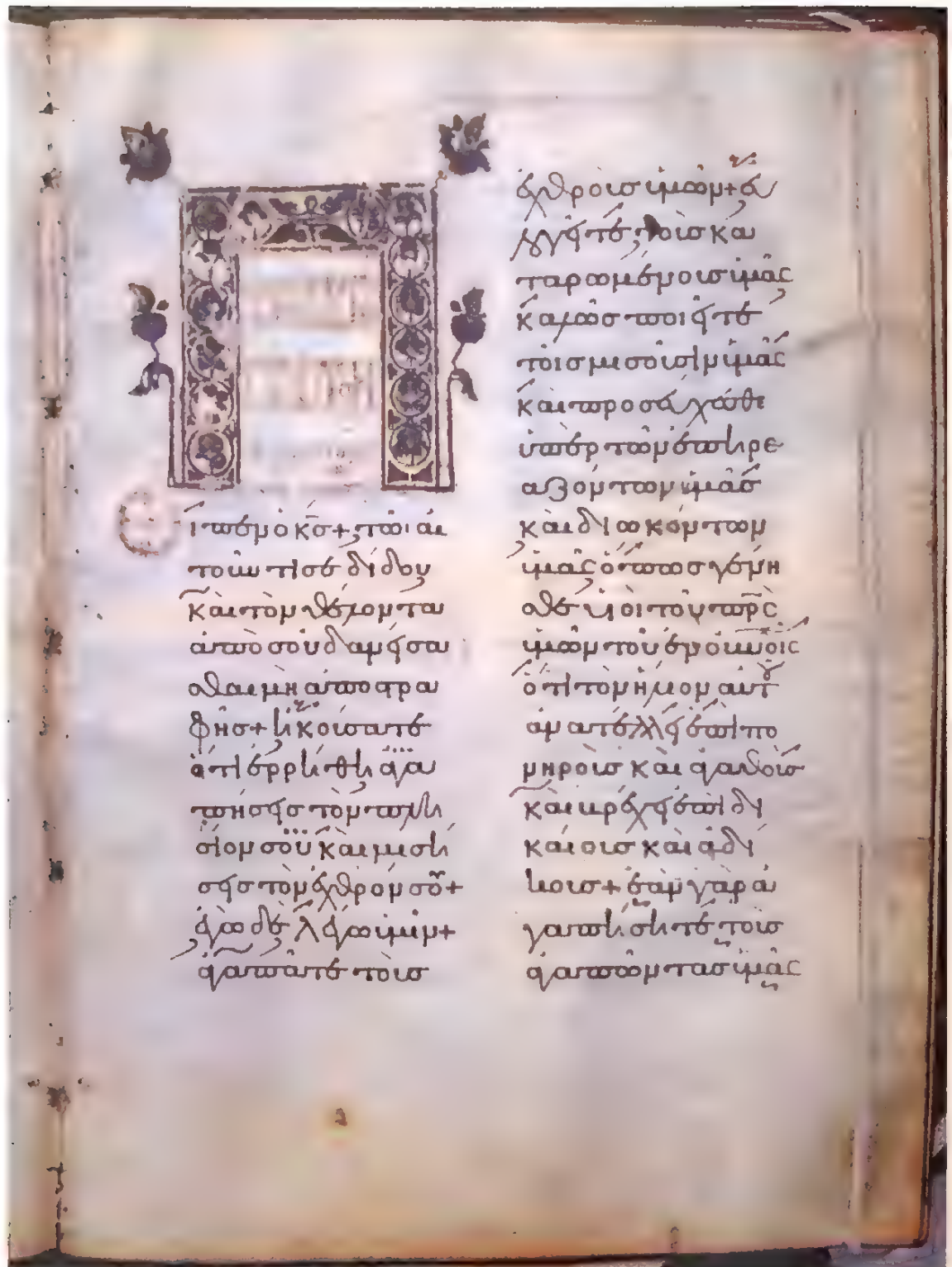
19. Mount Athos, Koutloumoussiou Monastery, 61, f. 112v. St Mark



20. Mount Athos, Koutloumoussiou Monastery, 61, f. 77v. St Luke



21. Mount Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 61, f. 50v. St Matthew



22. Mount Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 61, f. 51r.
Gospel lections of St Matthew



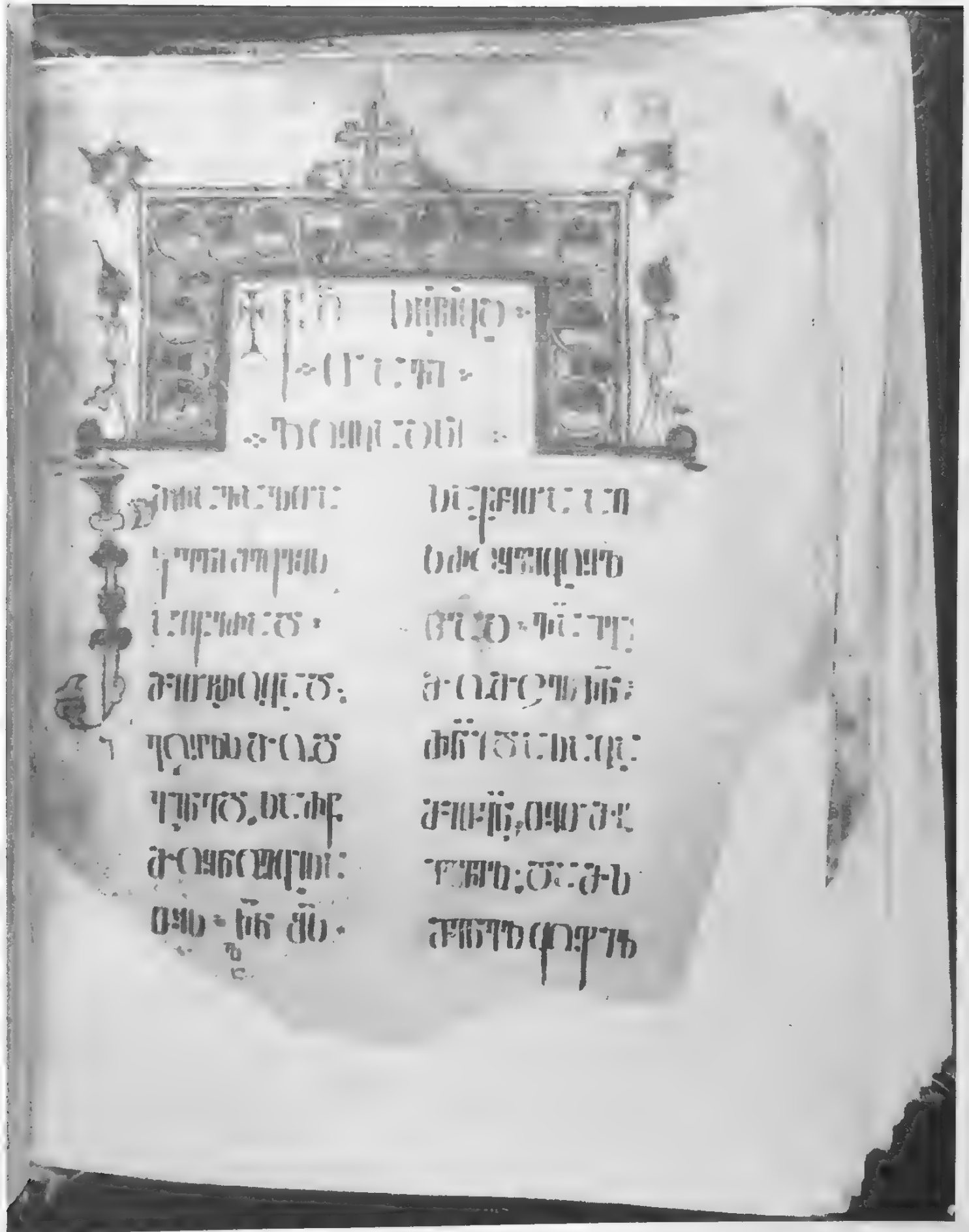
23. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 316v.
The Abgar Legend frontispiece



24. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 484, f. 320v. Mandylion



25. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, S 962, f. 2r. Canon X (St Mark, St Luke)



26. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, S 962, f. 133r. Gospel of St Luke



27. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, S 962, f. 85v. St Matthew



28. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, S 962, f. 132r. St Luke



29. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 6r. Canon x (St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke)

სადაც დასრულდა	სადაც დასრულდა	სადაც დასრულდა	სადაც დასრულდა
ა- ბ- გ-	დ- ე- ვ-	ზ- თ- ი-	კ- ლ- მ-
ნ- ო- პ-	ჟ- რ- ს-	ტ- ც- ძ-	წ- ჭ- ხ-
ყ- შ- ჩ-	ც- ძ- წ-	ჭ- ხ- ყ-	შ- ჩ- ც-
ძ- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-	ჩ- ც- წ-	ჭ- ხ- ყ-
შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-	ჩ- ც- წ-
ჭ- ხ- ყ-	შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-
შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-	ჩ- ც- წ-
ჭ- ხ- ყ-	შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-
შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-	ჩ- ც- წ-
ჭ- ხ- ყ-	შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-
შ- ჩ- ც-	ც- წ- ჭ-	ხ- ყ- შ-	ჩ- ც- წ-

30. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 845, f. 7v. Canon VI



31. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 7v. St Matthew



32. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 94v. St Mark



33. Kutaisi, Historical Museum, 76, f. 241v. St John and St Prochorus



34. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 230, p. 463. St John and St Prochorus



35. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 1791, f. 21r. Gospel of St Mark



36. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 516, f 3r. Canon 1



621. Cod. 418, fol. 193v. Aged monk and youths

37. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, 418, f. 193v. On Meekness

299

ἀποσπῆμι λήροσ. λαμπαν ὄμπιοσ· ἀποκόκ
 κουράποσ. δὲν δρομ πτηνῶν ἀμείψωμα
 τούτω δωροφοροῦ μόνυ μῆν. ὦ φίλοι ποιμε
 νῶσ· τούτω προσέγγον· τούτοισ δεξι
 οῦμε λατῶν ἡμῶν φιλῶν καὶ ξένῶν
 καὶ σὺν κλημόν· τούτων οὐδὲν κάλλι
 ον προσεγγεῖ μείχον μῆν. οὐδέ λαμ
 πρότρον· ὡμείχον. τὸ μείζον ὡμῆτη
 σαμῶσ· ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ ξένῶν οὐτῶν μῆ.
 καὶ οὐκ ὄνδρῶσ· ἀλλὰ πτωχῶν μόν.
 πολλῶν δὲ πλουτίζονται· ταῦτα εἰ
 μὲν μετρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν ὁσ λόγου. πάλαι
 βούλομαι· τίμα ταῦτα μείζον καὶ λόγου πῶσο
 μοσ· εἰ γάρ τὸ πολυτήσ οἰκουμένησ
 φθάλμων· γῆσ καὶ θαλάσσησ ὅτι κράτι
 σον· ὅσων καὶ ἐσπέρτου λήξωσ οἰον
 σὺν δόμον· εἰσῆνται πάντῃσ ὄνδρῶν ἀκρά
 συμτρέχει. καὶ ὄνδρῶν ἀρχῆσ φασ συμπο
 ρίου κοίμου. τῆσ πῶσῶσ· εἰ τὸ ταῦτησ φη
 ξάτε καὶ σθῶν φασ τοῖσ ἡμῶν ὡμῶν λόγουσ.
 τῶν οὐμεγάλων. καὶ ταῦτα· τοσαῦτα σδο
 μου μόνυ ηὐγλώσσαισ. καὶ οὕτω πάντῃσ
 ὄνδρῶν σχολῆσ γὰρ ἀλλοτῆ φανείη μεγα κα
 σπουδῆσ ὄξιοσ· εἰ δὲ τῶν ὡμῶν
 μόνων. δότε τί καὶ ἡμῶν. τῆσ ὡμῶν τούτοισ
 φιλοτιμίαν· καὶ αὐτοί. μὲν ἰδαι πῶσ
 τοῖσ ὄρῶν μόνισ τούτοισ σημείωσ κα



39. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 2806, f. 10v. St Matthew



40. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 2806, f. 100v. St Mark



41. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, H 2806, f. 3v. Canon II



42. Mestia, History and Ethnology Museum of Svaneti, 1, f. 6r.
Canons IX, X (St Matthew, St Mark)



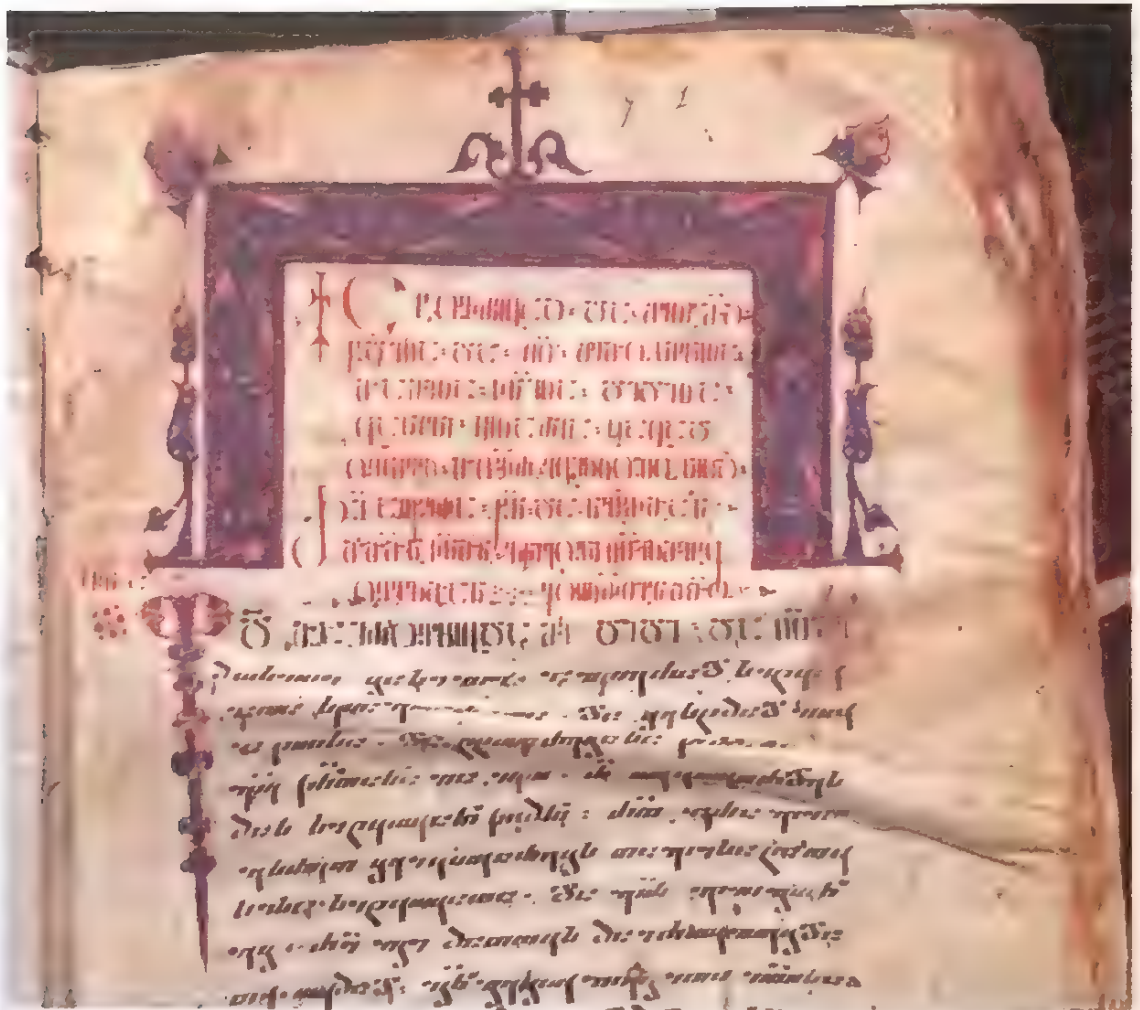
43. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 516, f. 232 V. St John



44. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 516, f. 86v. St Mark



45. Jerusalem, Library of the Orthodox Patriarchate, Georgian 14, f. 380r.
 St Andrew of Crete, Homily on the Assumption of the Virgin



46. Jerusalem, Library of the Orthodox Patriarchate, Georgian 14, f.1r.
St Gregory of Nazianz, The Life of St Basil the Great

THE ARMENIAN MONASTERIES IN THE BLACK MOUNTAIN

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The monasteries in the Black Mountain or Amanus region near Antioch functioned as a bridge in the ecclesiastical contacts between Armenians, Syrians and crusaders. The following is a simple attempt to render what Armenian sources contribute to our knowledge of these contacts. Two main problems face us: the Armenian concept of 'Black Mountains' is larger than the Amanus area proper, and, many of the (potentially Armenian) monasteries in the Black Mountain cannot be located or even identified with certainty.

The mountain range leading south from Maraş to Antioch forms a separation between the realms of Cilicia and Antioch. Two main roads allow passage through this range from east to west: in the south the road leading from Antioch to Alexandretta (the Syrian Gates); further north near the city of Bahçe the road leading to Adana, (the Amanus Gates). From the Amanus Gates down southwards the mountain range is called Amanus or Black Mountain, *Se(a)w Leārn* in Armenian. At its southern tip there are the Musa Dağ and the river Orontes¹.

The area was called Black Mountain by Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and crusaders alike. Over a certain period, the Turkish name seems to have been *Gâvur Dağ*, 'Mountain of the Infidels'. Modern road-maps and descriptions again use the classical name Amanus. All sources agree that monasteries and hermits of various denominations: Greeks, Syrians, Georgians, and Latins, were sprinkled throughout the area. It is, however, not so easy to find explicit reference to Armenian monasteries in the Amanus area because the Armenians seem to denote a wider area, from Antioch up to Maraş, by the name Black Mountain. Also, in the Amanus area proper, there are few, if any, material traces of Armenian monasteries².

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ For a general geographic description of the area in relation to the monuments, see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, iv, pp. 229-343 (*The Hatay and Eastern Cilicia*) with map xii.

² For a general description of the Armenian monastic and cultural aspects of the entire Black Mountain area and the sources available to us see: Ališan, *Sissuan*, pp. 402-11;

In Armenian sources, the sanctity and holiness of the Black Mountain are a literary *topos*. The area is called 'holy' because of the presence of so many monks. Aristakes of Lastivert (eleventh century) is the first to give expression to it when writing about 'the mass of monasteries and dwellings of hermits, who though still being in the flesh resembled beings incorporeal'³, a phrase echoed by Samuel of Ani about a century later⁴. Nersēs Šnorhali (1102-73) in his *Vipasanut'iwnk'* (History in verse) refers to 'The Black Mountain, called Dark, where the spirits shine clear'⁵, and continues with a long eulogy on the monastic life of the place.

The Armenian sources on the Black Mountain and its monasteries span the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. There are references in the writings of various contemporary historians and in colophons⁶. Where it is fairly certain that the Amanus region in the neighbourhood of Antioch is meant, the following general facts may be deduced from these sources:

Non-Chalcedonian (Syrian?) monks lived in the Amanus area in the eleventh century. Aristakes of Lastivert⁷ tells that, when passing through the area near Antioch on his campaign to Aleppo in 1028, the Emperor Romanos III was surprised by the number of 'heretical' monks and ordered them to be incorporated in his army. Mutafian⁸, following previous scholars, supposes that the Black Mountain is a popular monastic retreat from the fourth century onwards and that the area later served as a refuge for Christians driven up by the Muslim invasions.

H. Thorossian, *Histoire de la littérature arménienne: Des origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1951, pp. 158-9); Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, pp. 281-3); Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, pp. 317-35, with maps and extensive references. A listing of the Armenian Black Mountain monasteries in the Amanus area is given in Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, nos 269-80 (Region of Hatay).

³ Aristakes of Lastivert (Yerevan, 1963), p. 42, Aristakès de Lastivert, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, French trans. M. Canard and H. Berbérien (Brussels, 1973), p. 23.

⁴ Samuel of Ani (Vařarřapat, 1893), p. 14.

⁵ Nersēs Šnorhali (1102-1173) in his *Vipasanut'iwnk'* (History in verse) (Yerevan, 1981), line 1297 f.

⁶ On the importance of Armenian colophons for crusader history see G. Dédéyan, 'Les colophons de manuscrits arméniens comme sources pour l'histoire des Croisades', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Ashgate, 1998), pp. 89-111.

⁷ Aristakes of Lastivert (Yerevan, 1963), p. 43, French trans. (see n. 3), p. 29.

⁸ Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, p. 318.

There were probably Armenians among these monks. This may be deduced from the Armenian historian Matthew of Edessa (twelfth century), who tells us that, in 1021, the Byzantine Emperor Basilus II, in winter camp in Trebizond after the surrender of Kars and Ani, witnessed a miracle performed by the Armenian Catholicos Petros (*Getadarj*, 'the River-Turner'); the emperor was so impressed that⁹

after a while, he secretly went to Antioch accompanied by three faithful men. Going up to the Black Mountains to a place called Palakjiak, he received Christian baptism from the superior and spiritual leader of that place and henceforward became like an adopted father of the Armenian nation¹⁰.

In general terms, the relations between Antioch and the Armenian church were very intense from the eighth century onwards; Antioch had an Armenian bishop in 752¹¹. In 1066 the raid of Afshin ruined the Black Mountain monasteries¹². In 1098, during the siege of Antioch by the crusaders, the monks of the Black Mountain, together with the Rupenid princes of Cilicia, are reported to have sent them food supplies¹³.

The earthquakes reported as having occurred in the Black Mountain in the year 1114 by Matthew of Edessa and in the year 1269 by the *Chronicle* attributed to Sempad Sparapet, may, of course, have affected a wider area. Two Black Mountain monasteries are reported to have been destroyed, the Basileanc' Vank', the Monastery of the 'Basilians' (location unknown)¹⁴ and the Yisuanc' Vank' (of the 'Jesuites'), situated in the Amanus, north of Antioch.

⁹ Matthew of Edessa (Yerevan, 1991), p. 59.

¹⁰ Trans. according to Ara Edmond Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades — Tenth to Twelfth Centuries The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. from the original Armenian, with a commentary and introduction (Lanham, N.Y., and London, 1993), I.50, p. 46. The episode is almost literally retold in the late thirteenth-century *Chronicle* attributed to Smbat Sparapet (Venice, 1956), pp. 25-6; there the name of the monastery is *Palak'eak*. See also Kirakos of Ganjak (1200-1271) (Yerevan, 1961), p. 89, who explicitly states that by this baptism, the emperor had renounced Chalcedonism: 'going to the region of Cilicia, he was baptized by Armenians in the monastery that is called *Palakjiak*...'. The monastery is not mentioned elsewhere (Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 272: Hatay, 'localisation imprécise').

¹¹ Avetis K. Sanjian, 1965, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 9.

¹² Matthew of Edessa (Yerevan, 1991), p. 200.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 278. Dostourian, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (see n. 10), II.114, p. 167.

¹⁴ There are two monasteries of that name: one in the Amanus region (Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 269: Hatay, 'non localisée'; Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*,

The following non-Armenian monasteries are given in Armenian sources as localized in the Black Mountain:

– *S. Sargis of Sew Learn*¹⁵. Our only information for the existence of this monastery is Ališan¹⁶ who does not give us his sources. Ališan adds that it concerns a Cistercian monastery of the Latins ('de Jubino'), mentioned in the twelfth century¹⁷.

– *S. Gēorg of Sew Learn*¹⁸. There are two monasteries of this name in the Black Mountain. According to Ališan¹⁹ the Latin one ('Abbatia Sancti Georgii qui est in Montana Nigra') belonged to the Benedictines; an Abbott Angerius is mentioned in the year 1140; it came into the possession of the Antiochene Prince Bohemond III in 1186 through donation. Ališan apparently cites a Latin chronicle or donation act, but no exact source is indicated²⁰.

– The second monastery of that name is mentioned as late as 1364. According to Ališan²¹, based on circumstantial evidence, it was probably situated in the Black Mountain. The abbot of this monastery, Nersēs, together with a certain Yakovb, travelled to London where he obtained a privilege from King Edward III, dated 7 February 1364, allowing them to stay in the country for a year. The text of the privilege is cited verbatim by Ališan — no source indicated —; it speaks of 'fratres Nerses abbas Monasterii S. Georgii in Armenia Minori, et Jacobus ejus commonachus'; the purpose of their visit is stated as 'limina visitaturi Sanctorum'²².

pp. 133-4), another one around Maraş (Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 297). The (only) primary source for the first one is this reference by Matthew of Edessa. The second monastery (Thierry, no. 297) is tentatively ('probablement') identified by Thierry with *Šutr anapat* (no. 296), on which see below. One wonders whether there are indeed two Armenian monasteries by the name of Basilian. The earliest Armenian monks in Italy (late thirteenth century) were called Basilians. See Francesca Luzzati Laganà, 'Aspetti dell'insediamento religioso armeno in Pisa nel trecento', in *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino, Genova, Livorno 8-11 marzo 1997* (Pisa and Rome, 1998), pp. 13-22.

¹⁵ Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 276: Hatay, 'localisation imprécise et existence douteuse'.

¹⁶ Ališan, *Sissuan*, p. 410.

¹⁷ See also Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, p. 280 f., for an alternative identification with a place at three hours distance from Hromkla.

¹⁸ Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 270: Hatay, 'localisation imprécise'; Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, p. 144.

¹⁹ Ališan, *Sissuan*, p. 410.

²⁰ On this document see also *ibid.*, p. 424; and here note 49.

²¹ Ališan, *Sissuan*, p. 410.

²² This monastery should not be confused with S. Gēorg of the Tauros: Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 288: Içel, Tarsus.

– *S. Pōtos of Sew Learn*²³ in the city of Antioch, where Nersēs of Lampron (1153/4-98) had a translation made of the *Regula Benedicti* in 1179²⁴; the colophon is partially translated below. The monastery is defined as ‘a Frankish monastery that is in the city of Antioch’.

– A Greek (*horomoc*) Monastery *Pēt'ias* is mentioned in another colophon by Nersēs of Lampron ‘in the holy Mountain that is north of (the city of Antioch)’, likewise in 1179²⁵.

It seems certain that the Armenian sources, when speaking of the Black Mountain and its monasteries, had a larger area in mind that reached up to Maraş. On the one hand, there is no doubt, that the Amanus region was included. This is clear from the colophon no. 245 of 1179²⁶, where Nersēs of Lampron explicitly refers to the ‘holy Mountain that is north of [the city of Antioch]’.

On the other hand, the topography of some of the Armenian monasteries that are explicitly stated as being in the Black Mountain, such as the Aregin Monastery, leads us to assume that the Armenian concept of the Black Mountain exceeded the Amanus area. As an indication for this, one may adduce the notice in the *History of Vardan Arewelc'i*²⁷ (thirteenth century) on the Armenian year 548 (= A.D. 1099), in which, according to him, Constantine, prince of Armenia — son of Ruben died, ‘who controlled the Black Mountains’. This is clearly the Taurus region as far west as the fortress of Vahka that had been occupied by Constantine²⁸. Also, the thirteenth-century historian Vahram Rabbuni in his *Ver-sified History of the Rupenides*²⁹ speaks of the conquest by Prince Stefanē of the city of Germanikeia (Maraş) and surroundings in the ‘Black Mountain’³⁰.

²³ Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 274: Hatay.

²⁴ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 244.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 245.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Vardan Arewelc'i (Venice, 1862), p. 111; Robert W. Thomson, ‘The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i’, *DOP*, 43 (1989), pp. 125-226, at p. 199.

²⁸ See Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, p. 368. The dates given for this Constantine by Mutafian are 1095-1102.

²⁹ (Paris, 1859), p. 209.

³⁰ These events took place in the middle of the twelfth century. See Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, pp. 394-5.

The area would have been viewed as a unity by the Armenians. This can be demonstrated by the case of the 'Jesuit' Monastery³¹. Our oldest reference concerns the earthquake of 1114, where Matthew of Edessa³² informs us about the disaster '.... near Marash in the great Monastery of the Yesuanc', where the monastery was destroyed and all the monks perished'³³.

Matthew thus gives a general indication about the location of this monastery. Other sources place the monastery near Antioch. The colophon no. 61 dating from 1216³⁴, gives the following information:

in the year... 1216... this gospel was finished by the sinful person of Yovhannēs, in the holy and famous God-visited monastery that is denominated Yisuanc', under the patronage of our Holy Mother Sion and the lifebearing Holy Sign... close to the large metropolis Antioch, in the year in which the great archbishop and world-illuminating *vardapet* of Antioch, Yusēp' converted to Christ... and after him the holy Bishop Vardan succeeded to the see.

In the *Chronicle* attributed to Smbat Sparapet, the figure of Lord Yusēp' is also mentioned as one of the attendants at the crowning of Lewon II in 1198, as *Tēr Yusēp'*, archbishop of Antioch and leader of Yisuank'. He is fourth in the rank of ecclesiastics³⁵.

A final and definite location is given in colophon 114, dating from 1229³⁶. Now the leader of the monastery is Lord Mik'ayēl, bishop of Antioch:

In the year 1229... this text was written... at the order of the venerable and apostle-graced and God-honoured Lord Mik'ayēl, by the undeserving sinful and inferior scribe Yusik, in this famous and renowned monastery [*anapat*] and this angel-visited holy congregation [*uxt*] of the Yisuanc', that was

³¹ *Yesuanc'*, *Yisuanc' Vank'*; Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 280: Hatay, 'localisation imprécise'.

³² Matthew of Edessa (Yerevan, 1991), p. 364; Dostourian, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (see n. 10), III.67, p. 217.

³³ The story is repeated in the *Chronicle* attributed to Smbat Sparapet (Venice, 1956), p. 143, without the geographical specification: 'Likewise also in the Yisuanc' [Monastery] [the earthquake] killed all the ranks of the monks.'

³⁴ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1984), p. 98.

³⁵ *Chronicle* attributed to Smbat Sparapet (Venice, 1956), p. 209; Gérard Dédéyan, *La chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat: Introduction, traduction et notes par...*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 13 (Paris, 1980), p. 74 with n. 17.

³⁶ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1984), p. 158.

pastured by our Lord Mik'ayēl the bishop of Antioch, at the gates of this holy patriarchal [*kat'otikē*] church of our spiritual mother New Sion and of this Mother-of-God [Church], and under the patronage of this miracle-performing and life-bearing Holy Cross, because Christ really living in it performs miracles... close to the God-protected fortress of Palras in the confines of the city of Antioch at the foot of the small mountain that is called Caməndaw, where God-beloved fathers and celibate monks have lived...

Clearly, the colophon is speaking of the fortress of Bağras, north of Antioch³⁷, a crucial point in the defense of Antioch, guarding the eastern end of the Syrian Gates³⁸.

So one concludes that the Black Mountain area in Armenian sources indeed exceeds, but certainly also includes the Amanus area. Therefore one accepts Mutafian's³⁹ delimitation of the Black Mountain in Armenian sources. Following previous scholars, he defines the area as the Amanus range up to Maraş and reaching to Keysun in the east (the area around the modern Karadağ, Zeyt'un in the north and Andırın in the west).

In later descriptions, in particular those by Ališan and Oskian, the monasteries of the Black Mountain are treated as a group. Oskian⁴⁰ enumerates nine of them; most of these, but not all, are indicated in our primary sources as being located in the Black Mountain. In the course of his 1957 overview, Oskian also mentions other monasteries, besides the nine he lists together, as belonging to the Black Mountain monasteries. An excellent listing of the Armenian monasteries has been made by Thierry; he enumerates the monasteries according to modern administrative region. The 'canonical' Black Mountain monasteries of Oskian are placed by him for the greater part (but not all) in the Turkish province of Hatay⁴¹. In all cases Thierry adds a warning qualification like 'localisation imprécise'.

³⁷ Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, pp. 328-30; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, IV, pp. 266-71.

³⁸ Possibly the mountain *Caməndaw* is *Samandağ*, which, however, lies at the southern tip of the Amanus, rather far from *Bağras*. On *Samandağ* there was a fifth-century Monastery of St Simeon the Younger (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, IV, pp. 230 f.). It is evident that it does not concern Zamantı Kale in the northern Taurus area, the old patriarchal see of Grigoris II Vkasēs (1065-1105).

³⁹ Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, p. 319.

⁴⁰ Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, p. 283.

⁴¹ Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, nos 269-80.

From the treatment of the Black Mountain monasteries, in particular by Oskian, one gets an impression of a peaceful mix of monks of different religious backgrounds, often sharing the same monasteries. According to Oskian the Monastery of Pařlahoy is mixed Armeno-Syrian; the same is said for Yisuanc' Vank', without any obvious argumentation, and of Šap'irin Vank'⁴². Apart from the names of some of these places themselves there is no positive evidence of such an ecumenical living together. The contrary seems to have been true. In many sources, Syrian authors complain about Armenians who have taken monasteries from them, one of them being the famous Karmir Vank' (Red Monastery), east of Marař itself. Michael the Syrian speaks of five Syrian monasteries having been occupied by the Armenians around the year 1100⁴³. The following names of monasteries said to be in the Black Mountain are of possible Syrian origin: Pařlahoy (*Bar laho*), translated as 'Garden of God', and in Armenian sources Šap'irin Vank'⁴⁴; maybe one may also mention here K'arařit'u Vank', which is definitely located in the Adana (Ayas) area⁴⁵, on the other side of the Gulf of Alexandretta facing the Black Mountain.

With respect to K'arařit'u Vank' we have a colophon dating to 1154 stating that the name is also a Syrian name: '... in the holy congregation of monks, that in Syrian is also [ew] called K'arařitu.'⁴⁶

With respect to Šap'irin Vank' there seems to be no primary information about the character of the name. The monastery was in use by Armenians.

We are slightly better informed about the Monastery of Pařlahoy. This monastery was a favourite dwelling place of Catholicos Grigoris II Vkasasēr (*Martyrophilos*), who occupied the Holy See in the years 1065-1105. A colophon dating from 1101⁴⁷ provides the following information:

⁴² Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*: pp. 261, 265 and 270.

⁴³ Cf. Akinian, *Matenagrakan*, p. 237; Sanjian, *Armenian Communities* (see n. 11), p. 9; Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, p. 364 f.

⁴⁴ Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 273; Hatay, no. 277: Hatay.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 33; Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, p. 303, n. 31.

⁴⁶ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 200, p. 172.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 168.

In the 1102th year of the coming of our God and Lord Jesus Christ and in the 550th year of our chronology [A.D. 1101] and in the seventeenth of the reign of Emperor Cominos Alexis [= Alexios I Komnenos], I, Grigor, son of Grigor Magistros... and by the Grace of God called to be chief shepherd of our Armenian people and to occupy the true see of the priesthood of our forefathers, having undergone much suffering from foreign heathen peoples and from the dyophysites — And see, in the mentioned year we arrived at the holy mountain, that they call Black, in the church complex 'granted' to us in the holy monastery, that, according to the Syrian language is called Pařlahoy, which means 'Garden of God'.

I take it that 'granted' (*pargewakan*) means 'donated to (in this case) Grigoris'; the donor may then be his father, the famous Grigor Magistros. It is possible that Grigor Magistros was even the builder of the monastery, given the following reference to the same event in Vardan Arewelc'i⁴⁸: 'Grigor [Vkayasēr]... went to the so-called Black Mountain and passed on to the Mediterranean, to Troway Vank' that his father had built.' If we accept the identification of Pařlahoy Vank' and the (otherwise unknown) Troway Vank' we gain an indication about the location of Pařlahoy.⁴⁹ In that case it would not seem likely that Pařlahoy was one of the monasteries that were taken from the Syrians by the Armenians. Of course, much remains unclear here.

The Šuxr Xandarea Vank'⁵⁰ is only known from a colophon dating from 1064⁵¹ as a centre of Armenian scribal activity. It is characterized by Oskian as follows: It was 'probably one of the Black Mountain monasteries, and maybe the property of another people; in that case Armenian monks also resided there, which as today, was not uncommon in those areas.' It remains unclear on which facts this opinion is based. The meaning of the attribute *Xandarea* seems to be 'large bridge'; as Yovsep'eanc'⁵² pointed out, the word may be a variant of *kandaray*, occurring twice in Matthew of Edessa; it is a loanword from Arabic

⁴⁸ Cited and interpreted in Akinian, *Matenagrakan*, pp. 235-6.

⁴⁹ In the (unidentified) text cited by Ališan, *Sissuan*, pp. 410 and 424, concerning the donation by Renalt, son of Mazoer, of the 'Abbatia Sancti Georgii qui est in Montana Nigra' to Antioch in the year 1186, an 'Abbatiam Montis Parlerii' is mentioned. Ališan identifies this name tentatively with Pařlahoy Vank'.

⁵⁰ Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, pp. 266-7; Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 278: Hatay, 'mal localisé'.

⁵¹ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 123.

⁵² Garegin (Garegin A. Kat'olikos) Yovsep'eanc', *Yiřatakarakank' jeřagrak'*, Hator A. (*E. daric' minč'ew 1250 t'*) (Antilias (Catholicossate), 1951) (Manuscript Colophons, 1, from the 5th century to 1250), 248.

(*qantara*)⁵³. So this is 'Šuxr at the bridge' (maybe to distinguish it from another monastery, Šuṛ anapat in the Black Mountain, for which see below). Using an ingenious argumentation Yovsep'eanc' identifies this bridge with the famous Roman bridge over the 'blue river' (Göksü), where it joins the Euphrates, east of Keysun⁵⁴. This would place Šuxr Xandarea Vank' rather far to the east of Maraş, but the name would hardly give any indication as to the ethnic character of its inhabitants.

The monasteries of the Black Mountain have been the centre of two genealogies of Armenian scholars and ecclesiastics. These groups, which can be identified by painstakingly detailed prosopographic studies — in particular on the basis of the colophon material —, have had a great impact on contemporary Armenian cultural and ecclesiastical life and provided the intellectual background for the interactions that took place between the Armenian intellectual world and its neighbours. Both groups are related to Catholicos Grigoris II Vkayasēr (1065-1105).

There is a 'school of Paṛlahoy'⁵⁵, which started with a contemporary of Grigor Vkayasēr, Gēorg *vardapet* Loṛeci, who was appointed by him as his coadjutor and as teacher in Paṛlahoy. He worked in this capacity in the years 1065-72. One of Gēorg's pupils was a certain Kirakos (c. 1050-1127/8), whom Akinian calls 'the Scholar' (*Gitnakan*); he is known for his translations from Greek and Syrian. This Kirakos, again, had two students, one of them a certain Grigor who, according to a colophon dating to 1098⁵⁶, came to be head of the school of Paṛlahoy; the other a priest Matthew, whom Akinian⁵⁷ identifies as the well-known historian Matthew of Edessa (twelfth century).

A second generation of scholars and ecclesiastics is better known; it also starts from Grigoris II Vkayasēr, is centred in the monastery of Šuṛ anapat and closely related to the famous Pahlawuni catholicoi themselves. The precise location of this monastery, Šuṛ anapat, is disputed,⁵⁸

⁵³ Hrač'ya Ačaiyan, *Hayeren armatakan baṛaran* (Yerevan (University), 1926-1935; reprint 1971-1979). (Armenian Root Dictionary), s.v. 'Kandaray'.

⁵⁴ Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, IV, pp. 172-4.

⁵⁵ So termed by Akinian, *Matenagrakan*, pp. 231-9.

⁵⁶ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 140.

⁵⁷ Akinian, *Matenagrakan*, p. 238.

⁵⁸ Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères*, no. 296: Kahraman Maraş; Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, pp. 267-9.

but one agrees that it is to be sought in the region of Kahraman Maraş. Mutafian places it in the same area as Aregın, between Maraş and Sis⁵⁹. The name is also found as *Šutur*. Oskian explicitly mentions this monastery as one of the most brilliant monasteries of the Black Mountain area⁶⁰.

The background is given in the biography of Nersēs Šnorhali⁶¹:

And, instead of himself, he [Grigoris II Vkasasēr] installed a man... called Basilios as pastor and leader of the flock of Christ and took his dwelling in the holy Monastery Šutur, enclosed by mountains, and he gave him the two youths Grigoris and Nersēs, the sons of the mighty Prince Apirat, the son of his sister, to raise....

It concerns the later Catholicos Basilios I (1105-13), who had been appointed religious master of the monastery in 1065 and to whom was entrusted the education of the later Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (1113-66) and his brother Nersēs IV Šnorhali ('the Gracious', 1166-73), both members of the royal Pahlawuni family, like Grigoris Vkasasēr himself. These same boys were also taught at Karmir Vank'. The teacher there was Step'annos ('the young one' *vardapet* Karmirvankec'i), who had started teaching at the age of eighteen. This Step'annos also taught scholars like Ignatios Sewleṛnc'i ('of the Black Mountains'), author of a commentary on Luke and leader of Šap'irin Vank', and above all Sargis Šnorhali, author of a voluminous 'Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles', living in K'arašit'u Vank'⁶².

There was intense political and theological interaction between the various Christian denominations in crusader times. The role that was played by the Amanus area at a practical level can best be illustrated by

⁵⁹ Mutafian, *La Cilicie*, II, map 42.

⁶⁰ The monastery should not be confused with the fortress Šutur in the very south of the Amanus region between the mountain range and the Mediterranean, not far from the Musa Dağ (Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001, map 124 D4). This fortress is mentioned by Grigor IV Tlay (catholicos 1173-1193) in his *Elegy on the Fall of Jerusalem* (Yerevan, 1972), I. 2150.

⁶¹ Vita Nersetis, *Patmut'iwn Srboy Nersisi Šnorhalwoy*, Soperk' Haykakank', no. 4 (Venice, 1854) (Life of Saint Nerses Shnorhali), pp. 29-30.

⁶² There are arguments to simply equate the Monastery Šutur anapat with the Karmir Vank' itself. Many of the traditions about the two monasteries are similar (the education of Grigor III and Nersēs Šnorhali; the tradition that Grigoris II was first buried in Šutur anapat and that his body was later transported to Karmir Vank'). Matthew of Edessa calls Šutur anapat also *Barsefi Vank'* (Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens*, p. 268). See note 13.

the famous colophon of Nersēs of Lampron (1153/4-98), one of the great theologians and scholars of this time. Amongst other works, he translated the *Regula Benedicti* and also the *Dialogi* of Pope Gregory the Great into Armenian. In a colophon, dating from 1179, he relates the circumstances that brought him to this work⁶³. Obviously, Nersēs had access to a Latin and a Greek version of the text⁶⁴.

(p. 227)... at a youthful age out of longing for knowledge and discipline I went around monasteries that are close to the large city of Antioch, on the mountain that they call R̄asxanjir, at the shore of the sea. And I wondered seeing the virtue-clad solitude and asceticism of the Western [*hrov-maec'i*] monks of the monasteries, whom they now call Franks. And while I admired these unfamiliar things I asked some wise monk from the Greeks [*yunac'*], called Basil: 'From where do they have such a grace of correctness of institutions by which they nowadays appear to surpass you and us?' He answered: 'From the blessed Father Benedict, whose life is told by the holy Pope Gregory.' 'And do you have by any chance this book?', I asked. He answered: 'Yes.' And he brought it before me. And as I had a little knowledge of the Greek [*hellenac'i*] writing, I read it on the spot. And it inflamed in me the desire to translate this divine writing. But because I did not want to complete the work myself, I ceased at that time. And I translated the *Statutum* and the *Regula* for the monks by the same Benedictus at the same time from Latin [*latin*] in the Frankish Monastery of Saint Paul, in the city of Antioch, by means of one of their monks of the same age [as I], named Guillaume [*Gilam*]. And then, coming to the monastery that is called Simanakla, close to Anarzaba [Anazarba?], where many writings from the Greek [*yunakan*] literature have been preserved, I searched painstakingly and found that writing and I rejoiced about it with boundless joy, as those who experienced the love of science (which is the same as the love of God) will understand. I took it and went to the patriarchal see of Hromklay, at the shores of the Euphrates, and at the will of my Lord Grigor [IV Tlay] I translated that book and the *Commentary of the Apocalypse of John*, by means of the virtuous metropolitan of Hierapolis, Kostand. And having adapted and corrected it on the basis of my own weakness, I left it in the church of the Armenians as a sign of the well-being and as a joy of the consolation for those who live a life of virtuousness....

This colophon, which is not the only one of its kind, gives us a most interesting view on scientific interaction in the Amanus area. As we see on other occasions, starting with Grigor Vkasasēr (who translated the

⁶³ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 244.

⁶⁴ Cf. Nerses Akinian, *Nersēs Lambronac'i ark'episkopos Tarsoni: Keank'n ew grakan vastaknerā handerj azgabanut'eamb Pahlawuneac' ew Lambroni Het'meanc' — Nerses von Lambron, Erzbischof von Tarsus: Leben und Wirken nebst einer Genealogie der Pahlawunier und Hethumier von Lambron*, Azgayin Matenadaran: Nationalbibliothek, 179 (Vienna, 1956), pp. 281-9; Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 227, n. 1.

Life of John Chrysostom from Greek into Armenian), translators were commissioned to make translations. The translator's native language is the source language. In a second phase the result is corrected by someone whose native language is the target language. In a similar, but slightly more detailed way the process is described by Nersēs in a second colophon⁶⁵, concerning the translation of the *Commentary of the Apocalypse of John*, to which he had already referred in the previous colophon.

(p. 228)... when reading the Apocalypse of John, I was embarrassed for not knowing the sense of the admirable words; though searching here and there, I could not find the *Commentary* of it in our language. Then I decided to go to great Antioch and I went round the monasteries of Greeks [*hořomoc'*] and Franks that are there, while this wish burned in my mind. And then, searching, I found among the books of the famous Monastery [*uxt*] of Saint Paul in that city the *Commentary of the Apocalypse* in the 'Lombardic' [*lunpart*] language, and in that same book, which the Franks use, [a text] made by two commentators. And wishing to have it translated, I found no one who could transpose from that language into Armenian. Then, going outside of the city to the holy Mountain that is north from there, to one of the monasteries of the Greeks [*hořomoc'*], that is called Pētias, I met an encloistered monk, named Basil. I found the required [text] with a property mark [*? knk'eal*] in Greek and in correct and nice writing; it had belonged to Athanasius, the patriarch of that city. I requested it with prayers from the friendly man and I hurried with the text to the patriarchal see, to my Lord and catholicos, Holy Grigoris, who was very glad when it came to his attention and who ordered to have it translated by Kostand of Hierapolis, who was staying there under the patronage of the holy patriarch. And having started with the help of God and the Holy Lord, he to translate and I to write, we presented to the studious children of the Armenian church this admirable and divine *Commentary of the Apocalypse*.

The search for texts and the translation process require close interaction between all parties involved. From the colophons it is clear that the Amanus region was part of a network that enabled such interaction.

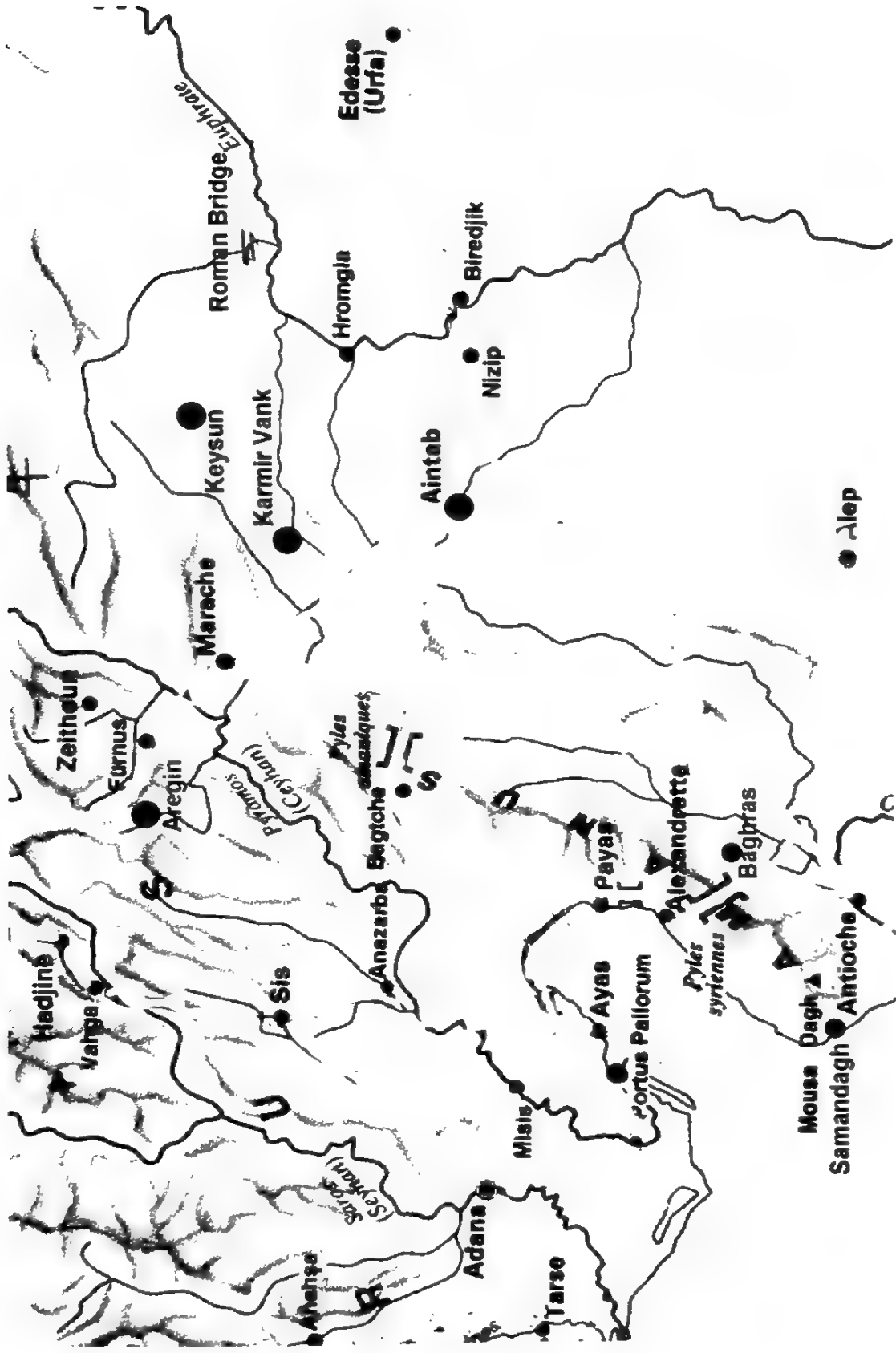
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Akinian, *Matenagrakan* = Nerses Akinian, *Matenagrakan hetazōtut'iwnner* — *K'nnut'iwn ew bnagir: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der armenischen Literatur*, v, Azgayin Matenadaran: Nationalbibliothek, Band 173 (Vienna, 1953).

⁶⁵ Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988), no. 245; likewise of 1198.

- Ališan, *Sissuan* = Levon Ališan, *Sissuan: Hamagrut'iwn haykakan Kilikioy* (Venice, 1899) (*Sissuan, Description of Armenian Cilicia*).
- Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1984) = A.S. Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner ŽG dar* (Yerevan, 1984) (Manuscript colophons of the thirteenth century).
 - Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren* (1988) = A.S. Mat'ewosyan, *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner E-ŽB dd.* (Yerevan, 1988) (Manuscript colophons of the fifth to the twelfth centuries).
 - Mutafian, *La Cilicie* = Claude Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, I, *Texte*, II, *Tableaux, Atlas, Iconographie, Références, Bibliographie, Index* (Paris, 1988).
 - Oskian, *Klöster Armeniens* = Hamazasp Oskian, *Kilikioy Vank'erə: Die Klöster Armeniens*, Azgayin Matenadaran: Nationalbibliothek, Band 183 (Vienna, 1957).
 - Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* = T.A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, IV (London, 1990).
 - Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères* = Michel Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères arméniens*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout, 1993).

I have not given full bibliographical indications of the standard Classical and Middle Armenian text editions in order not to overburden the footnotes. Only place and date have been given. For fuller details I refer to R.W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (Turnhout, 1995).





THE SYRIAC ORTHODOX IN THE PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH DURING THE CRUSADER PERIOD

DOROTHEA WELTECKE*

Introduction

From the year 518, when Severus of Antioch was banned, until the time of the crusades, the patriarchal see was always in firm possession of the imperial church¹, but the name of the city remained part of the nomenclature of the exiled patriarch. When 'the entire East' was added to the title, it sometimes caused controversy between the Syriac Orthodox patriarch and the primas of the Syriac Orthodox church outside the confines of the Empire, the maphrian, as they both became part of the Abbasid Empire in the eighth century. Patriarch Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē († 842) had defined 'the entire East' as the entire Asian continent, from the Mediterranean to the confines of the inhabited world².

The more important and constant element of the title, however, was Antioch, which was never in question. Thus, the patriarchate was defined neither by the changing borders of the area of jurisdiction, nor by a confession, nor by a people, but by Antioch, 'the capital of Syria'³, the apostolic see. And with the title, Severus' exiled successors always upheld their claim to the Eastern part of the universal Orthodox church and its members, regardless of language or nation.

Thus the relevance of the subject of this account is evident and has been recognized for some time. In their respective works, which have long become standard, Claude Cahen⁴ and Bernard Hamilton⁵ carefully

* Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

- Todt, *Antiocheia* = K.-P. Todt, *Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969-1204)* (Wiesbaden, 1998) (manuscript).

¹ I would especially like to thank Amill Gorgis, Hubert Kaufhold and Klaus-Peter Todt for advice and critical discussion.

² Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē as quoted by Michael the Syrian. *Chronicle*, p. 411 (II, p. 414). I use Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, as reference for names and dates.

³ *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 56 (II, p. 41). Bar 'Ebröyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 525 (p. 448).

⁴ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*.

⁵ Hamilton, *Latin Church*.

investigated the history of the Syriac Orthodox in the principality of Antioch. Their relations with the Latins were also assessed in Joshua Prawer's study on the minorities in Outremer and in a recent thesis by Christopher MacEvitt.⁶ The standard works on the history of the Syriac Orthodox church from the eleventh to the thirteenth century are, of course, also relevant.⁷ Mention should also be made of the source critical analysis by Anneliese Lüders.⁸ The recent major work by Klaus-Peter Todt opened up the history of medieval Antioch from the perspective of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate.⁹ He also thoroughly reviewed the sources concerning the Syriac Orthodox and added new details.

The outlines of the life of the Syriac Orthodox in Outremer are established: unlike the Maronites or the Armenian church, the Syriac Orthodox church remained officially independent¹⁰, although they joined the Armenians in their various negotiations with the Greeks and Latins respectively.¹¹ Scholars more or less agree that relations between Latins and Syriac Orthodox in Outremer were generally good.

⁶ J. Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Crusader States: the "Minorities"', in *Crusades*, Setton, v, pp. 59-122. C.H. MacEvitt, *Creating Christian Identities: Crusaders and Local Communities in the Levant 1097-1187* (Diss., Princeton, 2002) (microfilm). MacEvitt largely concentrates on the kingdom of Jerusalem. Concerning recent research on the principality of Antioch see H.E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena: Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, MGH, Studien und Texte, 6 (Hannover, 1993).

⁷ For example P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance: Idee und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1960); W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 2 vols (Vienna, 1981, 1989); I. Nabe-von Schönberg, *Die westsyrische Kirche im Mittelalter (800-1150)* (Diss. theol., Heidelberg, 1976); Th. Benner, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche unter byzantinischer Herrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Diss. theol., Marburg, 1989).

⁸ A. Lüders, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen* (Diss., Berlin, 1964).

⁹ Todt, *Antiocheia*; I would like to thank Hubert Kaufhold and Klaus-Peter Todt for permission to use the manuscript.

¹⁰ The nature of the relation between Ignatius III David and the Latins is still disputed. See, for example, Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, p. 32, who counts Ignatius among the Syriac Catholic patriarchs; and H. Teule, 'It Is Not Right to Call Ourselves Orthodox and the Others Heretics: Ecumenical Attitudes in the Jacobite Church in the Time of the Crusades', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, II, pp. 12-27, who argues against any union between Rome and the Syriac Orthodox patriarch at that time.

¹¹ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 332; P. Pascal Tékéyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle (1165-1198)* (Rome, 1939); B. Hamilton, 'The Armenian Church and the Papacy at the Times of the Crusades', *Eastern Churches Review*, 10 (1978), pp. 61-87; C. Mutafian, 'La Genèse du Royaume arménien de Cilicie', *HASK armenologisches Jahrbuch*, 7, 8 (1995-6), pp. 125-70.

At the same time, scholars agree that non-Latin Christians remained of inferior rank, and were usually subject to their own customs and laws. Normally, they were not allowed to testify against Latins. In areas of mixed population and economic and political cooperation, this fact must have made itself felt in all aspects of every-day life¹². The exact quality and the dimensions of relations therefore deserve further investigation to which the present account would like to contribute.

Although formally on the same level, informal differences occurred between the Christian denominations, according to their respective relations to the Latins and the changing coalitions which unfolded after the conquest. Regional differences and diachronic developments must be assumed, although concerning the Syriac Orthodox they have not been studied in detail. The conditions for doing so are not particularly good. Due to the sheer scarcity of data, a small set of events and sources concerning the Syriac Orthodox in Outremer have been frequently discussed¹³, and carry the heavy burden of generalizing interpretations.

The aim of the present account, therefore, is of limited scope. The focus on the presence of the Syriac Orthodox in Latin ruled Antioch allows for systematic treatment and sharpens the eye for regional differences. Some additional observations and details present themselves. The subject also improves our source critical understanding of the material for the medieval Syriac Orthodox Christians in general.

¹² MacEvitt recently voiced doubts that this view ever represented the reality of the twelfth-century kingdom of Jerusalem: MacEvitt, *Christian identities* (see n. 6), pp. 143-50, etc. His main grounds are that the thirteenth-century assizes and charters are anachronistic for the twelfth century and that the theory of separation between Latins and Eastern Christianity has been proved a myth by the evidence presented by R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998). The material about the Syriac Orthodox community in the principality of Antioch is too meagre to contribute to this debate; for the kingdom of Jerusalem Ellenblum's interpretation of his results has been criticised as being too optimistic by J. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem*, Berliner Historische Studien, 33 (Berlin, 2001), pp. 209-13.

¹³ The events repeatedly commented on are: Athanasius held against his will in Antioch by Bernard of Valence, consecration of the Church of Mör Barsawmō, protest by the Greek Orthodox in Antioch against the presence of the Syriac Orthodox and their Patriarch Michael, letter by Manuel Komnenos to Michael, negotiations between Armenians, Syriac Orthodox and the imperial church, repeated stay of Michael in Antioch, residence of a patriarch vicar, Athanasius, residence of Ignatius III David, flight of Bar 'Ebröyō to Antioch. This list will also be worked through in the present account. For earlier discussions of the sources and comments see mainly the references in nos. 4-11. Some details and recent suggestions will be discussed below.

The evidence will be presented partly in systematic and partly in chronological order, starting with reports of the conquest. Then follow the relations between the patriarchs and Antioch, the outlines of the administration and eventually some aspects of the life of the Syriac Orthodox communities.

Conquest

All three great Syriac Orthodox chronicles present accounts of the First Crusade and of the conquest of Antioch¹⁴. In her source critical assessment Anneliese Lüders¹⁵ observed that for the chroniclers the events were far away both in space and time. While inaccurate in detail, the chroniclers, however, reflect quite precise knowledge of the origin, and the route the crusaders took from Europe to the Near East, via Constantinople and Anatolia. Maphrian Gregory Bar 'Ebrōyō (1226-86) is even informed about the reconquest in Spain¹⁶. They were also aware of the ambivalent relations between the crusaders and Byzantium.

The provenance of their respective sources for these accounts is not known. A chronological mistake made by Patriarch Michael (1126-99) was explained as a mistranslation of a sentence originally written in Armenian¹⁷. The early conquest of Edessa is linked to the Edessene — Armenian and Syriac Orthodox — tradition that Edessa believed in Christ before Jerusalem¹⁸. All the chroniclers are quite sure that it was God who gave the victory to the Latins, but then, who else could have? The divine causality does not imply that the Syriac chroniclers had any

¹⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 585-8 (III, 182-5); *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, pp. 54-7 (II, pp. 39-42); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, pp. 263-6 (pp. 234-6); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Historia*, p. 368 (p. 242), this is the Arabic version of the world chronicle. There are several more modern editions without translation, for example, *Tārīḥ muḥtaṣar ad-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣliḥānī al-Yasūdī (Beirut, 1925). The relation between the Syriac and the Arabic version cannot be discussed here, for references see H. Teule, 'The Crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic Secular Chronicles: A Different Approach', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, I, pp. 39-49.

¹⁵ Lüders, *Urteil* (see n. 8), pp. 22-6. Lüders did not discuss the account of the Anonymous.

¹⁶ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 264 (p. 234).

¹⁷ The seven years' duration of a siege of Constantinople should be seven months. Lüders, *Urteil* (see n. 8), p. 1, who quotes G. T.-Gr. Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa, nach armenischen Quellen* (Weida i. Th., 1915), p. 21, n. 49.

¹⁸ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 587 (III, p. 184).

share in the ideology of Holy War, as Lüders already pointed out. Instead, they saw the crusades as acts of vengeance. Muslim provenance of parts of the reports makes itself felt in all three accounts. Michael included the story of the finding of an apotropaic bronze statue, which is rather an exotic tale for an austere Syriac Orthodox prelate like him, but not for the secular literature and romance of his time¹⁹.

All the chroniclers are aware that the conquest of Antioch was a long and exhausting process; the city fell by treason and the Latins themselves suffered under the siege by the mighty Atabeg Kerbogha. But for the Latins, the conquest of Antioch was an awesome experience, which in later memory formed the turning point of the entire movement.²⁰ In comparison, the Syriac reports are relatively short and matter-of-fact.

Directly connected to the conquest of Antioch is the story of the discovery of the Holy Lance²¹. Klaus-Peter Todt has recently highlighted Greek Orthodox sources, which prove possession and veneration of an object taken for the Holy Lance in Antioch as early as the tenth century²². He suggested that the object might have been hidden from the eyes of the Seljuk conquerors in the cathedral in 1084 and found again in 1098.

The Syriac Orthodox chroniclers are not sure of the exact nature of the object found by the Latins. Only in the thirteenth-century chronicle of Vardan and Yešū‘, commonly known as the Armenian version of Michael’s chronicle, did Latin influence leave direct traces, as it relates

¹⁹ See R. Khawam, ‘Les Statues animées dans les Mille et une Nuits’, *Annales E.S.C.*, 30 (1975), pp. 1084-1104. I would like to thank U. Mazolph for this reference and his comment on the bronze statues. For a comment on the interpretation of Lüders, *Urteil* (see n. 8), p. 22, see D. Weltecke, *Die ‘Beschreibung der Zeiten’ von Mōr Michael dem Großen (1126-1199): Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext*, CSCO 594, Subsidia 110 (Louvain, 2003), p. 132, n. 26.

²⁰ For sources and commentaries see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 211-8; S. Runciman, ‘The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon’, in *Crusades*, Setton, 1, pp. 308-42; H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, Berlin, etc., 2000), pp. 52-4; J. France, ‘The Fall of Antioch during the First Crusade’, in *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard — Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B.Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith (Ashgate, 2001), pp. 13-20.

²¹ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 217; Mayer, *Kreuzzüge*, pp. 54-5 (see n. 20). The finding of the Holy Lance has been widely investigated, see for example W. Giese, ‘Die Lancea Domini von Antiochia (1098/99)’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 6 vols; v, *Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschungen*, MGH, Schriften 33 (Hanover, 1988), pp. 485-505.

²² Todt, *Antiocheia*, p. 792.

more or less the Latin version²³. Michael himself reports that the nails from the Holy Cross were found, from which a cross and a lance were formed²⁴. Bar 'Ebrōyō follows his version²⁵, but changed it into the crosier of St Peter in his Arabic chronicle²⁶. While the nails and the crosier were no less objects of veneration, the object presented by the anonymous chronicler (fl. thirteenth century) is rather peculiar. Here the initial vision, which led to the discovery, is related by an un-named bishop (Michael identified Tancred, Bar 'Ebrōyō just mentioned 'a king of the Franks'). The bishop said: 'Look, in a certain hidden place in the Church of Cassian (i.e. St Peter) is the Lance, which was thrust into the sculpture of Christ, the one the Jews made in Tiberias.'²⁷ Nevertheless the lance led the Latins to victory.

Whatever the motivation of their various sources, the accounts the three chroniclers made of them show no direct tendency in either way or any particular emotional involvement. The chroniclers simply recorded as best as they knew. Clearly these accounts deserve source critical study, but the outcome will foster a deeper understanding of the chronicles and their authors, rather than of the Syriac Orthodox inhabitants of Antioch: there is no word about their first and ambivalent contact with the Latins. The problems concerning these accounts will therefore be left unsolved for the moment. Instead, we turn to the most important aspect of medieval Antioch in the eyes of the Syriac Orthodox communities.

The Patriarchs and Antioch

Concerning the presence of the Syriac Orthodox patriarch, the history of the principality of Antioch appears at first sight to be a story of success, albeit with setbacks in the earlier period. The first two patriarchs at the time of the crusades, Athanasius VII and John XII, often resided in

²³ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, Langlois, p. 297. For the history of this chronicle, which is designated as an Armenian translation of Michael's chronicle by Vardan Arewelc'i († 1271) and the priest-physician Yešū' of Edessa († after 1246, before 1248), but which must be considered as a new Armenian chronicle rather than as a translation: see A. Schmidt, 'Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Großen', *Le Muséon*, 109 (1996), pp. 299-319; Weltecke, *Mōr Michael* (see n. 19), pp. 55-7.

²⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 587 (III, p. 184).

²⁵ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 265 (p. 235).

²⁶ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Historia*, p. 368 (p. 242).

²⁷ *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 59 (II, p. 43).

the monastery of Dova'ir, in the region of Antioch. If it had been their intention to demonstrate their claim to the chair of St Peter and to establish themselves in Antioch, this was not without danger. Athanasius VII was brought into the capital by force to stand trial against his own metropolitan before a council summoned by the Latin patriarch, and was put under house-arrest. The Latins even dared to threaten him with beating. He could only leave the city again with the help of an influential *Suri-anus*, his friend, the philosopher 'Abd ul-Masīh²⁸. Athanasius never came back.

The patriarch reigning during the second half of the twelfth century was not molested by the Latins. During his visit after his return from Jerusalem, they even made him sit down on the throne of St Peter in the great cathedral, as the Anonymous reports²⁹. Michael repeatedly stayed an entire year, and, what is more, he was acting as patriarch: he ordained bishops³⁰. Why did the Latins admit the head of a church, which had for centuries been legally classified as heretic, to sit down on St Peter's throne? In the ecclesiastical chronicle by Bar 'Ebrōyō this is interpreted, not as an act of cordiality between Latins and Syrians, but as a demonstration of hostility on the side of the Latins towards the Greek Orthodox patriarch and his flock³¹.

Half a century later, the relations had reached a yet deeper intensity. During the reign of Ignatius III David (1222-52), the Syriac Orthodox patriarch established himself permanently in the capital, for the first time since late Antiquity. Ignatius III David made the Latins bend to his will, says Bar 'Ebrōyō, with great donations and gifts, and the Latins, in turn, consented to his buying a garden in the northern part of the city and building a residence there. He especially mentioned two

²⁸ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 600 (III, p. 210); the episode is described in great detail by Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 338-43, and others, see above note 13. Until now this person has not been identified. I would like to suggest that he might have been the *philosophus* 'Abd ul-Masīh, acting as a teacher and translator for Stephan of Pisa in Antioch, who is mentioned in MS Dresden, Landesbibliothek, Bf. 87, f. 1-71, here f. 15v; compare Ch. Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century', in *Occident et Proche-Orient — Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades: Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 Mars 1997*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Tihon, B. Van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 1-78, here p. 12 and n. 42.

²⁹ *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 307 (II, p. 230); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 545 (p. 546). Michael's own report is lost. See B. Hamilton, 'Three Patriarchs at Antioch, 1165-1170', in *Dei gesta per Francos* (see n. 20) pp. 199-207, here pp. 203-4.

³⁰ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 545 (p. 546).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 545 (p. 546).

'wonderful high cupolas' of the new site³². The residence was probably visible on the skyline of Antioch and that was its purpose, perhaps the only one: clearly even Ignatius III David avoided the danger of coming too close to the Latins. He usually stayed in Armenian territory rather than in Antioch³³. Later, the aging patriarch is said to have become restless. The reason was that he had never made a home for himself, as Bar 'Ebrōyō reports. This explanation comes much to the surprise of the reader, who would have considered the newly built residence to be just that. But Ignatius longed for the country of his youth, and wanted to travel to the Monastery of Mōr Baršawmō in the region of Melitene to die.³⁴ As a representative landmark the residence in Antioch was mainly a symbol for the claim of the church to universality and orthodoxy, and for the legitimacy of the patriarch. Another was Ignatius' choice of a patriarchal name: after Patriarch Ignatius II (878-83) he was only the second patriarch, who explicitly stood in the tradition of St Ignatius († 107), which also linked him to the ancient history of the church of Antioch and underlined his renewed claim to the apostolic see.

Meanwhile, the legitimacy of the Syriac Orthodox patriarch had become linked to the city of Antioch in yet another way: a new element had been added to the ritual of the election of the patriarch. By the year 1252, it had become a *custom* ('yōdō) for the newly elected candidate to be enthroned on the seat of St Peter³⁵, after centuries during which a solemn enthronement *anywhere*, together with the acclamation of the clergy and the people, had sufficed³⁶. After the death of Ignatius III David, there were two rival contestants to the throne. One came to Antioch, and while he at least tried to avoid a Latin held council in Antioch, which would analyse their conflicting claims, he apparently could not do

³² Ibid., p. 667 (p. 668). Bar 'Ebrōyō mentions several visits by Ignatius III David, see *ibid.*, p. 653 (p. 654), p. 665 (p. 666). For the building of the residence see *ibid.*, pp. 667-73 (pp. 668-74). See also above note 13.

³³ For his itinerary see Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, *occ.*, pp. 645-93 (pp. 646-94). Ignatius built a church in Hromqla: *ibid.*, p. 667 (p. 668). He was buried in the 'large church of the Armenians', *ibid.*, p. 693 (p. 694). Concerning the activities at his court and that of the Armenian catholicos, where Vardan Arewelc'i and the priest-physician Yešū' also wrote their Armenian versions of Michael's chronicle at that time, see Schmidt, 'Zweifache Rezension' (see n. 23), pp. 303-6.

³⁴ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, *occ.*, pp. 671-75 (pp. 672-6).

³⁵ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, *occ.*, p. 711 (p. 712).

³⁶ Kawerau, *Renaissance* (see n. 7), p. 17; Selb, *Kirchenrecht* (see n. 7), II, pp. 213-7, who do not discuss the present case.

without the Latin held cathedral. The Syriac Orthodox did not have the means to fight on the level at which contestant popes and their supporters promoted their cases in Europe, but John XII bar Ma'danī (1253-63) did as best as he could by writing an apology and using money and slander. It was only then that 'the Latins agreed to his entering their great church. And he sat down on the throne as was the custom'³⁷.

What had been an individual and highly prestigious act in 1168 had now become a humiliating bond by which the Syriac Orthodox candidate was tied to the good will of the Latins in Antioch. What caused this dramatic development? At first, Patriarch Michael had, in fact, been in a better position than the Latin patriarch, Aimery, his contemporary colleague on the Latin chair³⁸. His position was safer, if also contested, his travelling-radius was large as was the extent of his area of jurisdiction. From 1180, however, the central administration lost a substantial part of its power.

Concomitant to the new political constellations unfolding in the Middle East from 1100, the Syriac Orthodox communities in Outremer, Cilicia and those further east gradually drifted apart: for example, after the anti-Patriarch Theodore bar Wahbūn was elected in 1180, the dioceses of Jerusalem and later the diocese of Cilicia were lost to Patriarch Michael.³⁹ Since the turn of the thirteenth century, the Syriac Orthodox bishops were less and less able to find a consensus and to be loyal to the same patriarch⁴⁰. In this complicated situation Antioch was crucial. While a formal subordination under the rule of the Roman church never took place, a practical subordination under the rule of the

³⁷ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 711 (p. 712).

³⁸ On Aimery see Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 38-51, etc.; R. Hiestand, 'Der lateinische Klerus der Kreuzfahrerstaaten', in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. H.E. Mayer (Munich, 1997), pp. 43-68; idem, 'Un centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord?: Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus', *Le Moyen Age*, 100 (1994), pp. 7-36.

³⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 722 (III, pp. 383-8); *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 327 (II, p. 244); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, pp. 583-9 (pp. 584-90); see also the sources, translations and commentary provided by H. Kaufhold, 'Zur syrischen Kirchengeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts: Neue Quellen über Theodoros bar Wahbūn', *Or. Chr.*, 70 (1968), pp. 115-51; and J. Gerber, *Zwei Briefe Barwahbuns — Nebst einer Beilage: Das Schisma des Paulus von Beth-Ukkame* (Heidelberg, 1911).

⁴⁰ Kawerau, *Renaissance* (see n. 7), p. 123, W. Hage, s. v. 'Jakobitische Kirche', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, XVI (1987), pp. 474-85; the trouble started with the election of two rival successors of Michael the Great, Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 605 ff. (p. 606 ff.).

Latins in Antioch was the price the thirteenth-century patriarchs paid for their use of Antioch as a symbol of legitimacy, representation and integration of their own church.

Administration of dioceses in the principality

How exactly the diocese of Antioch and the communities in the principality were governed under these circumstances is an open question. Who, for example, ordained the Syriac Orthodox priests of Antioch? This office is, of course, vital to the existence of any community. Obviously, the diocese always belonged to the patriarch, but he was absent. He usually visited the monasteries or resided in the 'special diocese for the patriarchal see' (*mar'itō dilōnōytō l-kursyō d-pātryarkō*)⁴¹. Which diocese he would choose and when and why he would change deserves further study. It might be said that he apparently managed this diocese in person and its revenues must have been at his disposal⁴².

Was there ever something like a binding arrangement for the affairs of the diocese of Antioch? Or must we assume that bishops of neighbouring sees might have visited Antioch to manage it? No such case is known from the sources. Elsewhere, it is true, we hear of offices in the community, such as steward⁴³ and treasurer⁴⁴, who managed its affairs, the buildings and the money. Insofar a community could, to some extent, be left to govern itself. Were the members also able to mediate in conflicts and to provide for the instruction of the people and the new generation of clerics? And who would see to the remaining juristic duties and assume the responsibility?

Some remarks extant in the chronicles indeed prove some more formal arrangements. Information can be gained by studying cases in which a specific diocese could not, for certain reasons, be managed by the prelate in office. There are some hints that in such cases vicars were installed. Patriarch Michael, for example, entrusted his nephew with the diocese of Mardin: the members of the community of Mardin complained that they

⁴¹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 601 (III, p. 212).

⁴² *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, pp. 330-2 (II, pp. 246-8); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 543 (p. 544). Different: Selb, *Kirchenrecht* (see n. 7), II, pp. 216-7: 'Nur ausnahmsweise dürfte einmal ein Patriarch freilich in Anspruch genommen haben, an seinem realen Sitz auch bischöfliche Rechte auszuüben...'

⁴³ In Edessa, see *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 308 (II, pp. 230-1).

⁴⁴ In Aleppo, see *ibid.*, pp. 92-3 (II, pp. 69-70).

were compelled to travel to the Monastery of Mōr Barṣawmō for each law-case or consecration and considered this situation intolerable. The charter set up for the occasion is one of the few known Syriac Orthodox charters of this time⁴⁵. Ignatius III David sent Dionysius Ṣalība to Melitene as vicar of the patriarch, *taḥlūpō d-ṗaṭryarkō*, when he established himself at Antioch.⁴⁶

These cases shed some light on a few other remarks, directly concerning Antioch: in the year 1142 the metropolitan of Tarsus received the jurisdiction, the *awtenṭyā* (*αὐθεντία*) of Antioch by way of a formal act⁴⁷. In the year 1171 Athanasius, the ousted metropolitan of Edessa, was given the visitation, *sō'ūrūtō* of the region of Antioch. He resided in Antioch but returned after six years.⁴⁸ As has been said, Michael eventually installed his brother as a vicar 'for my old age', *taḥlūpō d-say-būt(y)*, in Antioch after the fall of Jerusalem in the year 1187, while the Syriac Orthodox communities in Cilicia were loyal to Theodore bar Wabhūn and the Armenian Catholicos Gregory IV until the year 1193⁴⁹.

The terms used for installing the vicar change; the office for Antioch could perhaps never be clearly defined, in order not to infringe on the claim of the patriarch to his titular see. Nevertheless the vicars mentioned clearly assumed their responsibility in an official way. Notwithstanding the open questions, the organisation of the administration in Antioch is clearly a decisive factor, as long as one assumes that the activities and the responsibilities of the medieval Syriac Orthodox bishops made a difference at the level of the communities, which has until now been taken for granted⁵⁰.

In other areas of the principality, the conditions might have been better⁵¹ but they equally pose open questions for the scholar. In the

⁴⁵ *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, pp. 330-2 (II, pp. 246-8). Apparently there were doubts about the legality of the solution, which could explain the great efforts made here to legitimise the act.

⁴⁶ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 665 (p. 666).

⁴⁷ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 625 (III, p. 255).

⁴⁸ *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 324 (II, p. 242); Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, p. 195. The semantic field of *sō'ūrūtō* is wide; besides the act of visitation, it also includes the *curatio*, which is probably meant in the present case, see R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1879-1901; reprint Hildesheim and New York, 1981), II, pp. 2688-9.

⁴⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 737-8 (III, pp. 411-2); on the conflict see above n. 39.

⁵⁰ See Selb, *Kirchenrecht* (see n. 7), II, pp. 235-7.

⁵¹ See H. Jedin, K. Scott Latourette and J. Martin, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: Die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Freiburg i. Br., etc., 1970), n. 28; the

west, Tarsus and Adana had been Syriac Orthodox sees. Until its conquest by John II (1118-43) in 1137, Adana was under the rule of the princes of Antioch and the names of two successive bishops of Adana are known. Only one, Iwannis or John, is mentioned in the consecration lists as having been ordained by a patriarch⁵². Who ordained Timothy, who was mentioned in the year 1130?⁵³ During the time under investigation, the only Syriac Orthodox bishop of Tarsus known by name is John, who was ordained by Michael⁵⁴. But who was responsible for the ordination of the patriarch vicar mentioned above? There are clearly gaps in the documentation.

The principality also comprised the bishopric of Ġayḥōn/Ceyhan⁵⁵. To the south it was only the province of Kafar-Ṭāb, which in the early years belonged to the principality for some time⁵⁶. Mention should also be made of the community at Laodicea. The provinces of Mar'aš⁵⁷ and Dūlūk⁵⁸ belonged to the principality since 1108, according to the so-called treaty of Deabolis, but only for a short while⁵⁹. In the thirteenth century, the community of Tripoli is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicles. Fiey assumed that it never had a bishop⁶⁰, but Bar 'Ebrōyō knows one Yešū' of Tripoli, *alias* Bar Parson from Edessa for 1252.⁶¹ The

entries are commented on by I. Nabe-von Schönberg and J. Martin with references to sources and literature.

⁵² Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 766 (III, p. 478); Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, p. 158. Concerning Latin interests in this area after the battle of Myriokephalon in the year 1176 see also Mayer, *Varia Antiochena* (see n. 6) pp. 118-9.

⁵³ *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 204 (II, p. 227); Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, p. 158. H. Kaufhold comments in a letter to me: 'Sicherlich hat Athanasius VII. Timotheos geweiht. Wenn bei ihm keine Weihe für Adana in den Listen Michaels erwähnt wird, hatte Timotheos wahrscheinlich vorher einen anderen Bischofssitz inne. Bei der Übernahme eines neuen Bistums war eine Weihe weder erforderlich noch erlaubt.'

⁵⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 767 (III, p. 480). Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, p. 271.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁵⁹ K.-P. Todt, 'Antioch and Edessa in the So-Called Treaty of Deabolis (September 1108)', *Aram*, 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 485-501; see also Mayer, *Varia Antiochena* (see n. 6), pp. 65-74.

⁶⁰ Fiey, *Oriens Christianus Novus*, p. 275.

⁶¹ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, *occ.*, p. 709 (p. 710); see also Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 437. The Latin bishops of the time were frequently absent, see W. Antweiler, *Das Bistum Tripolis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert: Personengeschichtliche und strukturelle Probleme* (Düsseldorf, 1991), pp. 135-71. A vacuum like this could have made the establishment of a Syriac Orthodox bishop possible.

exact location of less than half a dozen Syriac Orthodox convents in the region of the principality is identified⁶², the one best known being Dova'ir. Dova'ir must have had an important convent and school because it provided many prelates for the Syriac Orthodox church. It was also a suitable location for grand liturgical occasions like the election and enthronement of patriarchs. Ilse Nabe-von Schönberg mentions no convent located in Antioch itself⁶³.

Life in the communities in the twelfth and thirteenth century

As has been said, both the city of Antioch and the Latin principality were visited quite regularly by the patriarchs and even by some maphrians in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Two of the high ranking visitors, of course, became the chroniclers, also frequently quoted in the present account. While one is used to the scarcity of Latin information about the Syriac Orthodox, details could at least be expected in the Syriac chronicles, given the especially favourable conditions. On the contrary, however, we find scarcely any hints about craftsmen, such as shoemakers, silk-weavers or silversmiths, nothing about great or small merchants and traders mentioned elsewhere⁶⁴. Neither are there accounts about benign and wealthy physicians or the scolding of treacherous clerics⁶⁵. The chroniclers do not seem to see the Italians, the Latin religious orders nor the palace of the prince. Of course, the focus of the sources they had at their disposal lies outside Outremer, but it still seems worth mentioning that although they personally knew and could have said much more about Antioch, the capital, the symbol, the blessed city, let alone the regions further west — they did not⁶⁶.

⁶² For a list of the Greek Orthodox convents see Todt, *Antiocheia*, pp. 903-47.

⁶³ *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte* (see n. 51), n. 38, entry by I. Nabe-von Schönberg, who also gives a list of convents not identified by that time.

⁶⁴ See for example *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 64 (II, p. 47); p. 120 (II, p. 90).

⁶⁵ *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 320 (II, p. 239); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 449 (p. 385); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, or., pp. 347-51 (pp. 348-52).

⁶⁶ This also holds true for the chronicle by Vardan and Yešū', which is generally unreliable for the subject, see, for example, their changing of Michael's report on the conflict about the relic of Mōr Baršawmō in Edessa, Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 615-7 (III, pp. 238-9); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, pp. 292-3 (pp. 257-8) and Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, Langlois, p. 303.

It is no surprise that little was gathered by scholars about Syriac Orthodox life in the principality, let alone their perspective on the other groups present. Since no outstanding personalities are ever mentioned, Cahen formed a conviction, which was never challenged: according to him the Syriac Orthodox made up the populace, the small people in the cities and the peasants in the country; they had no nobility, and did not participate in either the military or in the administration, their elite only consisted of clergy⁶⁷.

It is difficult to verify this picture⁶⁸. Concerning Antioch itself, it seems that after the persecutions of the eleventh century, the once strong and well-off Syriac Orthodox community of Antioch was almost completely extinguished⁶⁹. Only one Syriac Orthodox church is known by its patron saint in the first half of the twelfth century⁷⁰. In the second half of the twelfth century, perhaps due to the influx of refugees, a second and a third church is attested: Mōr Barṣawmō, which was built in 1156⁷¹, and St George, which is mentioned only after 1170.⁷² Today even the smallest village in the Ṭūr 'Abdīn often calls a couple of churches its own. While not all the churches and chapels might be known⁷³, the number of Syriac Orthodox inhabitants must still have been very low. Consequently, the community was simply too small to form the populace. More or less the same holds true for the countryside surrounding the city.

The situation might have been different in other regions. One example is known, where again the traditional view does not fit. When Adana was conquered in 1137 by the Byzantine Emperor John II, the Anonymous reports that the population, which is said to have consisted entirely of Syriac Orthodox, rejoiced at having been liberated from the yoke of

⁶⁷ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 191, p. 338. For a new assessment of the legal position and the situation of the peasants in the twelfth century, mainly in the kingdom of Jerusalem, see MacEvitt, *Christian Identities* (see n. 6), pp. 151-61; for the Eastern Christian landowners, noblemen and secular authorities, *ibid.*, pp. 162-72.

⁶⁸ Todt, *Antiocheia*, cautiously refrained from speculations about the position of the Syriac Orthodox in the principality, see pp. 585-99.

⁶⁹ For a recent treatment see *ibid.*, pp. 674-5, etc.

⁷⁰ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 599 (III, p. 209); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ. p. 475 (p. 476).

⁷¹ Todt, *Antiocheia*, pp. 807; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 651-3 (III, pp. 300-4).

⁷² Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 696 (III, p. 339); MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syriaque 234 (H. Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaites) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1874), p. 185) is a hagiographical collection, which, according to the colophon f. 344v, was written by the Archpriest Constantine, son of Jacob, in the Church of St George in Antioch in the year 1192.

⁷³ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 696 (III, p. 339); Michael's report leaves open, whether, in fact, Syriac Orthodox churches were also destroyed by the earthquake.

the Latins and their taxes. They preferred to be part of the Empire.⁷⁴ Here we catch a glimpse of a strong Syriac Orthodox urban community outside the focus of the chronicles. One wonders which language the Syriac Orthodox of Adana or Tarsus spoke in every-day life.

As they were in the majority, the Syriac Orthodox of Adana were probably represented in *all* the social groups and positions, high and low; the merchant elite of this rich city, the secretaries of the Latin administration, the physicians and scribes, the craftsmen, the dancers and the innkeepers, the poor and the servants included. And the people of Adana took to weapons and fought actively on the ramparts. They supported the small Byzantine unit and defended the city against the Turkish siege. They lost, the men were killed, and the bishop, the women and the young were led into captivity and sold in the region of Melitene. Emperor John provided for those who were able to return, perhaps freed by Syriac Orthodox merchants from Melitene, but their glorious days were over⁷⁵.

Cahen represented the attitude of the older French tradition of crusade studies. He interpreted the ambivalent attitude of the Latins towards the *Suriani* as an indicator for the Syrians' assumed lack of loyalty, their pro-Muslim tendency; under Muslim rule the Syriac Orthodox in particular were thought to have been quite satisfied⁷⁶. Since then much has been said to the contrary⁷⁷. The people of Adana prove that neither of these generalizations capture all the given constellations. Certainly, a decision on the question as to whether the subjects were loyal to their Latin masters does not provide the basis for a moral judgement, let alone for an understanding of their own interests and motivations.

⁷⁴ *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, pp. 109-11 (II, pp. 82-3); see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 621 (III, p.245) and Bar 'Ebröyö, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 301 (p. 264) respectively, whose report is much shorter and contains no information about the internal situation of Adana.

⁷⁵ Wilbrand of Oldenburg writes about Adana in 1212: 'Ab illa post aliquot dies venimus Adene, que est ciuitas regis in amenis locis supra flumen a se denominatum sita et non diuites habens ciues; que tamen intra muros largissima est.' *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, pp. 159-91, here p. 177. About Wilbrand's journey see the recent account by P. Halfter, 'Eine Beschreibung Kilikiens aus westlicher Sicht: Das Itinerarium des Wilbrand von Oldenburg', *Or. Chr.*, 85 (2001), pp. 176-203; about the archeological site of Adana as well as the written sources see F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 2 vols, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, 5 (Vienna, 1990), here I, pp. 154-8; about the decline of the cities in Cilicia after the Byzantine reconquest in general see R.D. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 23 (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 37-50.

⁷⁶ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 338.

⁷⁷ See notes 5, 6 and 7 above.

Meanwhile the Byzantine Empire pursued its own intentions, in particular by frequent contacts and disputations with the Armenian and the Syrian prelates during the reign of Manuel Komnenos (1143-80)⁷⁸. Manuel did not support the case of his protégés and patriarch, when they called for an imperial investigation of Patriarch Michael's creed in 1168⁷⁹. Although looked upon with caution, the rapprochement must have seemed to those involved like a far cry from the politics favourable towards miaphysitic settlement in Cappadocia and Syria, as had temporarily been the case in the tenth century as a means of securing the borders of the Byzantine Empire⁸⁰.

The sentiment against the 'treacherous and evil Greeks' demonstrated in the chronicles was perhaps not shared by all the Syriac Orthodox living throughout the principality. Even in the chronicles, it was not normally directed against ethnic Greeks or against Byzantium. The term 'Greeks' usually designated the Greek Orthodox *Syrians* in the mixed population of the towns and cities of the principality and elsewhere, while the term *Suriani*, so familiar in the studies of the crusades, never occurs in the Syriac sources as a designation for Greek Orthodox⁸¹.

Cahen interpreted the term *Suriani* in the Latin and Arabic Sources as a term for the Syriac Orthodox alone; most scholars in later years preferred to reserve the term entirely for the Greek Orthodox of Syrian origin⁸². Still

⁷⁸ The negotiations cannot be discussed here in detail, see n. 11 above for commentaries; see also Hamilton, 'Three Patriarchs' (see n. 29), pp. 204-7.

⁷⁹ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 549 (p. 550), listed as a quotation from Michael's chronicle in *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, ed. F. Dölger (Munich, 1995²), n. 1487. See n. 13 above.

⁸⁰ For this period chiefly Benner, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche* (see n. 7). MacEvitt, *Christian Identities* (see n. 6), pp. 175-6, p. 198 etc., suggests that, while Rome and Constantinople negotiated the union in the second half of the twelfth century, the ecumenical ideals themselves brought an end to the 'rough toleration' of the twelfth century and, in fact, sharpened the differences between the denominations. This paradoxical result is a consequence of his very positive assessment of the twelfth-century relations. See also J. Pahlitzsch and D. Weltecke, 'Konflikte zwischen den nicht-lateinischen Kirchen im Königreich Jerusalem', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung — Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. D. Bauer, K. Herbers, N. Jaspert (Frankfurt and New York, 2001), pp. 119-45, here pp. 131-7.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 144; Todt, *Antiocheia*, p. 922: '... da der Begriff [Greeks] in jakobitischen Quellen immer für die Melkiten verwendet wird.'

⁸² G. Every, 'Syrian Christians in Palestine in the Early Middle Ages', *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 6 (1945-6), pp. 363-72; *idem*, 'Syrian Christians in Jerusalem, 1183-1283', *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 7 (1945-6), pp. 46-54; J. Nasrallah, 'Syriens et Suriens', in *Symposium Syriacum célébré dans les jours 26-31, Octobre 1972 à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental de Rome*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 197 (Rome, 1974), pp. 487-503; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die 'Nationes Christianorum Orientalium' im*

Cahen's observation that: 'Dans les textes, le sens est variable et englobe souvent tous les indigènes de langue arabe, qui ne parlent pas grec', is valid.⁸³ Neither the Latin nobles and merchants nor Muslim observers were probably always able to distinguish between *Jacobitae* and *Suriani* in every-day-life, one reason being that *both* groups, when asked, designated themselves as Syrians⁸⁴.

The Greek Orthodox *Suriani* were just as proud of being Syrians as were the Syrians in the Syriac Orthodox church⁸⁵. Liturgical use of Aramaic in the diocese of Antioch and translations of the new Byzantinised liturgy, as well as of biblical texts, into Aramaic are proof of a strong attachment to the language during the time under investigation.⁸⁶ At the same time, not even the Syriac Orthodox in Outremer (let alone *Suriani*) are said to have understood the classical East-Aramaic Edessenian of their clergy and their sacred books⁸⁷. The shared heritage of the Syriac Orthodox and *Suriani* and their cultural similarity must have made the rivalry bitter. At the same time, the enmity was ambivalent, as there must have been experiences, which united both groups and distinguished them from outsiders.

As inhabitants of the principality under Latin rule, they were together experiencing the positive and the negative effects of the Latin presence.

Verständnis der Lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, 22 (Cologne and Vienna, 1973), pp. 213-9.

⁸³ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 338. About indiscriminate use of the term *Suriani* see J. Richard, 'Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 7 (1979), pp. 157-73, here p. 166.

⁸⁴ Copts and Armenians conversing with Syriac Orthodox call them 'Syrians' (and not Jacobites) to this day.

⁸⁵ M. Rubin, 'Arabization versus Islamization in the Palestinian Melkite Community during the Early Muslim Period', in *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First-Fifteenth Centuries CE*, ed. A. Kofsky and G.G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 149-62.

⁸⁶ S.P. Brock, 'Syriac Manuscripts on the Black Mountain, near Antioch', in *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, ed. R. Schulz and M. Görg, Ägypten und Altes Testament, 20 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 59-67; Todt, *Antiocheia*, p. 953.

⁸⁷ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, p. 148: '... Quidam autem eorum vtuntur littera Chaldaea, alij Arabica quę Saracenicā dicitur. Laici autem eorum secundum diuersas nationes & prouincias diuersis vtuntur idiomatibus in sermone vulgari. Linguam autem Clericorum suorum, qua in diuinis scripturis vtuntur, non intelligunt. Licet enim littera vtantur Saracenicā, vulgare tamen Saracenicum non repraesentat, sed quoddam propriū idioma, quod non nisi à litteratis intelligitur.' It is interesting to note that Jacques points towards differences in origin and language of Syriac Orthodox Christians, although his knowledge of the Syriac Orthodox is not particularly precise and was not gathered at first hand but through inquiries with Greeks and Melkites, as he himself says: p. 146.

Success of the Latins brought many slaves and prisoners of war to Antioch in 1116, which is said to have welcomed the wealth⁸⁸. As was seen in Adana, the communities were also the victims of warfare⁸⁹. After the disastrous battle on the *Ager Sanguinis* in the year 1119, the Black Mountain area in the region of Antioch was plundered by the Turks and a great many Christian lay-people and monks are reported to have been massacred⁹⁰. The history of the Greek Orthodox monasteries on the Black Mountain with its Georgian or Syrian convents goes on, because they had the means to cover the losses⁹¹. But they ceased to produce Syriac Orthodox prelates, which is a significant sign for the situation of the convents and the communities.

In the year 1124, there were Muslim riots against the Christians in Aleppo. The populace plundered the Christian churches and converted them, because the treasurers of their communities did not want to bear the costs of the damage done to some mosques in the region by Count Joscelyn I of Edessa. For the sake of peace, the bishops — the Greek Orthodox, the Syriac Orthodox and the bishop of the Church of the East — had consented to yield to their demands⁹². The Greek Orthodox bishop fled to Antioch, the Syriac Orthodox elsewhere.

What did the sad news from Aleppo mean to both *Suriani* and Syrians, loyal to the Latin princes in Antioch? How far did they share the crusader's ideology and believed in their interpretation of events and battles as they were proclaimed to them?⁹³ Which were the connections most dear to them — the urban or peasant communities of their denomination in their neighbourhood and town quarter, the East Mediterranean culture they shared with Armenians, Greeks and others under Latin, Armenian and Greek rule or the interregional systems of their respective churches scattered throughout the Near East?

⁸⁸ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, pp. 280-1 (pp. 247-8).

⁸⁹ See n. 74 above.

⁹⁰ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 599 (III, p. 204); Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 282 (p. 249); *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 82 (II, p. 61).

⁹¹ See n. 62 above; W. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO 372, SS 48 (Louvain, 1976); W. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch On-the-Orontes*, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, 13 (Stuttgart, 1986).

⁹² *Anonymi chronicon prof. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 92 (II, p. 69).

⁹³ One such proclamation on the battle of Montgisard 1177 in Antioch was heard and reported by Patriarch Michael, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 718-9 (III, p. 375); compare Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, pp. 353-4 (pp. 307-8), who preferred quotations from a Muslim proclamation of the outcome of the battle issued in Egypt.

News from other Greek Orthodox and Syriac Orthodox communities outside the principality arrived in Antioch more often through refugees. The conquest of the county of Edessa, skirmishes in the region of Melitene or the assault on the Monastery of Mōr Barṣawmō in the year 1148, drove the Syriac Orthodox into the towns and cities of the principality⁹⁴. When Antioch was under siege, refugees certainly added to the conflicting interests in the city. Bar ‘Ebrōyō reports that, in the year 1149, the community of Antioch disagreed on the question whether they should hand over the city to Nūr ad-Dīn or send to Jerusalem for help⁹⁵. But it is impossible to decide which side the Syriac Orthodox — refugees or inhabitants — preferred.

The Church of Mōr Barṣawmō

One of the important results of Cahen’s research was the thesis that, because the Latins had been a small minority in the north, they assimilated much more into the Eastern Christians than in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem⁹⁶. They were influenced by the culture with which they came into contact and made use of it. In this context, mention must be made of the Latins’ adoption of the cult of the miaphysitic Saint Mōr Barṣawmō. His relics were guarded by the Syriac Orthodox in Cappadocia but his cult was shared by the Armenians of the region and he was generally considered very powerful. The monastery had already been famous in the late eleventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, traces of worship are found in Cilicia, Syria and in Egypt⁹⁷. The presence of refugees from Mōr Barṣawmō and from Edessa, the Metropolitan Basilios included, accelerated the expansion of the veneration into Antioch.

⁹⁴ See also the following chapter. For Armenian refugees see G. Dédéyan, ‘Les colophons des manuscrits arméniens comme sources pour l’histoire des Croisades’, in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J.F.W. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 89-110.

⁹⁵ Bar ‘Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, pp. 314-5 (p. 275); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 338.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 561; for the Latin-Armenian noble culture in Cilicia and the alienation of the population compare J.J. Weitenberg, ‘Literary Contacts in Cilician Armenia’, in *East and West in the Crusader States*, I, pp. 63-72 and the references given there.

⁹⁷ E. Honigmann, *Le couvent de Barsauma et le patriarcat jacobite d’Antioche et de Syrie*, CSCO 146, Subsidia 7 (Louvain, 1954); H. Kaufhold, ‘Notizen zur späten Geschichte des Barsaumô-Klosters’, *Hugoye* (<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye>) 3, 2 (2000); for recent bibliographical references see also L. Doumato, ‘Patriarch Michael the Great: Iconoclast or Art Patron’, *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 49 (2001), pp. 29-38.

Since Lamia Doumato recently discussed the episode in detail, the past history of the building of a church dedicated to Mōr Barṣawmō by Latins in Antioch will not be reviewed here⁹⁸. Suffice it to say that, in the year 1156, a 'large' church was built in a Latin garden. The names of its noble donors, the couple Henry and Isobel, are two of the very rare Antiochian names provided at all by the Syriac sources. Another name mentioned in this context is Ṣalība, the monk from Mōr Barṣawmō, who became the first prior⁹⁹. A solemn consecration of the church took place, on which occasion a delegation from the monastery arrived. Michael, then 30 years old and perhaps not yet one of them or their abbot¹⁰⁰, went there 'with the Elders of the monastery'¹⁰¹.

This consecration is highly significant for the social history of Antioch, which is why it is worth while looking at Michael's report again. At second sight his description turns out to be rather odd:

And it [the church] was consecrated on Sunday 9th of Kōnūn I in the year 1468 [= 9 December 1156] in the days of Raynald the lord of Antioch and Balduin the king of Jerusalem and their Patriarch Aimery and Mōr Athanasius, our patriarch. And at the consecration were present the governor of Cilicia, *mōrē 'agrō* Thoros, the queen, Henry and his wife Dame [*dam*] Isobel, that is *Elīšōbel*, and the rest of the Latin nobles and the people of the Armenians and Syrians and a multitude of our priests, deacons and monks as well as of the Franks and Armenians. The Greeks, however, the adversaries, they mourned because of their jealousy. But God and his Saint were glorified. His is the glory and on us be his mercy in eternity, Amen and Amen.

⁹⁸ Ibid.; see also note 13.

⁹⁹ There is no reason to assume that he was identical with Michael's brother of the same name: Doumato, 'Michael the Great' (see n. 97), p. 32. Her assumption is appealing but not supported by the sources. The name Ṣalība is too common to allow for such speculations. No personal relation is mentioned by Michael.

¹⁰⁰ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 653 (III, p. 303).

¹⁰¹ Weltecke, *Mōr Michael* (see n. 19), pp. 77-9. Chabot in his comment on Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (III, p. 303 n. 7): 'Michel était alors archimandrite du couvent de Mar Bar Ḥauma.' Chabot's thesis was based on the sentence quoted above, the interpretation of which is not beyond doubt. From the context it is obvious that, to underline the veracity of the story, Michael mentioned his being an eyewitness. After his passivity during the events of 1148, the authority of the Saint had been in danger and the entire chapter in the chronicle is dedicated to the Saint's apology. The passage reporting Michael's promotion in the year 1163 or shortly before is lost; Bar 'Ebrōyō, however, summarized Michael's report of his first tasks as abbot, see Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 525 (p. 526): 'In the year 1474 (1163), when Michael, who later was enthroned as patriarch, was Archimandrite of the Monastery Mōr Barṣawmō, he made it his task to bring water to the monastery, because of the multitude of folks, who were gathering and coming for the worship of the Saint...' see also Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 677 (III, p. 321).

The consecration of a church is combined with a procession. Both are rituals, which are crucial for the integration and stabilization of medieval urban societies¹⁰². Here, the Greek Orthodox were excluded from the ceremony, much to the satisfaction of our observer. Silently, however, Michael passed over the absence of the Latin patriarch. At that moment, the relations of the princes with the Byzantine Empire and the Latin patriarch were not at their best¹⁰³.

The Syriac Orthodox obviously felt very honoured but in reality they rather provided the means for a demonstration of unity between the Antiochian Latins and both the Cilician and the Antiochian *Armenians*. There could be more to it: Michael dates the event so diligently, he enumerates all the authorities and the people present — but who was the bishop, who actually celebrated the consecration?¹⁰⁴ It is not likely that Michael forgot and it is, in fact, telling that he should be silent about this very name. But this name and the denomination of the bishop would have clarified a central point of the inner situation of the Syriac Orthodox in Antioch.

Archaeological evidence has shown that the donation itself was not as singular as it seems from the literary sources¹⁰⁵. Comparison with the archaeological evidence of Latin-commissioned churches in the Lebanon and Syria will hopefully also provide more data for the interpretation of this event¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰² The importance of this factor for European societies where spirituality and religion are studied from a socio-historical perspective is great. An argument by analogy suggests itself. *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter: Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*, ed. K. Schreiner (Munich, 1992); E. Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2000); *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. K. Schreiner (Munich, 2002).

¹⁰³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XVIII, 1, p. 809; Mayer, *Kreuzzüge* (see n. 20), pp. 104-5.

¹⁰⁴ I would like to thank Amill Gorgis for asking me about the bishop.

¹⁰⁵ See M. Immerzeel, 'Medieval Wall Paintings in Lebanon: Donors and Artists', *Chronos* (in print), whom I would like to thank for his manuscript.

¹⁰⁶ E. Dodd-Cruikshank, 'Christian Arab Painters under the Mamluks', *Aram*, 9-10 (1997-8), pp. 257-88, here pp. 264-6: Mōr Tadros at Bahdeidat; pp. 267-9: Mōr Charbel at Ma'ad. Although very inspiring in general Dodd-Cruikshank, among others, assumes a language reform at 1200, which is consequently used for the dating of inscriptions and paintings (p. 258, n. 3): 'Barhebraeus, Syrian Orthodox Patriarch in the thirteenth century, writes that John of Qartmin, who died in 1201, replaced the use of Greek in the Syrian Orthodox Church with the use of Estrangela which had been abandoned for a century.' Who first had invented the later John of Qartmin and the Greek inscriptions mentioned cannot be investigated here. At any rate, the reference for this sentence is given as Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 417 (p. 418), which says: 'And the same Mōr Athanasius ordained the famous Mōr John bishop of the monastery of Qartmin in the

There is evidence for continuing relations between the Monastery of Mōr Barṣawmō and the church¹⁰⁷, which make at least the spiritual subordination of the church quite clear. Notes in a lectionary, written in the year 1000 by a scribe, Romanos, have been preserved, which prove that this manuscript was in the possession of the Church of Mōr Barṣawmō in Antioch in the thirteenth century. The monastery probably provided some of the books used in Antioch, certainly before 1183¹⁰⁸. Two of its thirteenth-century readers, a Yešū' and a deacon from Melitene named Agrippos, left their traces.

Yešū' claims to have been persecuted in the Church of Mōr Barṣawmō in Antioch in the year 1222, and he relates that a Rabban Jacob from the mother convent supported him¹⁰⁹. What kind of 'persecution', which allows reports about it to be written into service books afterwards, takes place in churches? Apparently, the church was used for some sort of investigation or trial of members of the Syriac Orthodox church, and Yešū', who had been accused of something, was able to clear his name. The phrasing *w-ettayyab lī*, 'was with me', leaves open, whether Rabban Jacob was simply present and took his side as an advocate, or whether Yešū', too, had come from the north. In any case the church in Antioch apparently had the means to host several monks and guests from Cappadocia at the time.

Later in the first half of the thirteenth century the Deacon Agrippos from Melitene reported that he had come with a *sō'ūrō*, a *periodeutes* (supervisor), from the Monastery of Mōr Barṣawmō. The name of the *sō'ūrō* is not preserved because, still later, readers erased his name,

year 1299 [AG, i.e. A.D. 988], who was the one who renewed the script Estrangela in the Tūr 'Abdīn, which had been out of use for hundred years.' It did not replace Greek, but the Syriac script *Sertō* at the time. See A. Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris frontier: The Early History of Tūr 'Abdin* (Cambridge etc., 1990); idem, 'Charting Undercurrents in the History of the West-Syrian People: The Resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934', *Or. Chr.*, 70 (1986), pp. 37-68. The substitution of Aramaic for Greek in the Lebanon and in Syria fits well into the context of the translations investigated by Brock, 'Black Mountain' (see n. 86).

¹⁰⁷ W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1870-2), here 1, pp. 154-8. Wright did not realize that the Antiochene Church of Mōr Barṣawmō was meant in this lectionary, MS London, British Museum, Add. 12139, dated 1311 AGr (= A.D. 1000), but see Todt, *Antiocheia*, p. 807.

¹⁰⁸ In this year the library of the monastery burned down, Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp.726-7 (III, pp. 391-2).

¹⁰⁹ Todt, *Antiocheia*, p. 807, identifies both Yešū' and Ya'qūb as monks of an Antiochene convent. Further discussion is clearly needed here, also concerning the provenance of the manuscript. Todt, *Antiocheia*, p. 807, Wright, *Catalogue* (see n. 107), 1, p. 158.

perhaps by this act documenting yet another conflict. The church — or perhaps even the entire Antiochian community¹¹⁰ — was continually supervised by the famous monastery, which is evident from the fact that a formula for a letter from the clergy of the church to the monastery was also preserved¹¹¹.

From twelfth-century Edessa, there is clear evidence that churches served as centres, not only for different social groups, but also for groups of different *regional* origin. A case in point is the Church of Yōl-daṭ-Alōhō, which was mainly used by immigrants from Melitene, who also acted as a distinguishable group within the Syriac Orthodox community of Edessa¹¹². In analogy to this case, it seems safe to suggest that the Churches of Mōr Barṣawmō and St George in Antioch might have attracted immigrants, Mōr Barṣawmō being especially preferred by immigrants from the region of the famous convent. Native families might have celebrated in the old Church of Yōl-daṭ-Alōhō in Antioch.

Some remarks on Syriac Orthodox scholars in Antioch

During the Latin occupation, Antioch produced only one illustrious Syriac Orthodox scholar. It is Theodore of Antioch, who studied in Mosul and Baghdad and travelled large distances to find a position, until he eventually became philosopher at the court of Emperor Frederick II (1220-50). Bar 'Ebrōyō only took a temporal abode in the city. Their respective fates point towards the intellectual history of the communities in the principality of Antioch.

Charles Burnett initiated a discussion about the position of Antioch in the transmission of science from Greek and Arabic into Latin and suggested that Antioch played a greater role than hitherto assumed. The intellectuals involved might not have had the same approach as those in Spain or Sicily but it was the connection between Norman Sicily and

¹¹⁰ See above note 48.

¹¹¹ Wright, *Catalogue* (see n. 107), I, p. 158-9.

¹¹² *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, p. 297 (II, pp. 222-3). For further comments see D. Weltecke, 'Überlegungen zu den Krisen der syrisch-orthodoxen Kirche im 12. Jahrhundert', in *Syriaca — Zur Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen: 2. Deutsches Syrologen-Symposium (Juli 2000, Wittenberg)*, ed. M. Tamcke, Studien zur Orientalischen Kirche, 17 (Münster, Hamburg, etc., 2002), pp. 125-45, here pp. 134-40. Obviously, there are similar structures in the present, as, for example, the church of the Edessenians in Aleppo.

Norman Antioch in particular that Burnett convincingly stressed¹¹³. No Syriac Orthodox is known by name to have taken part in this process, apart from Theodore. His colourful career and his tragic suicide evokes romantic fantasy and recently raised the interest of several scholars¹¹⁴, who continued a yet older tradition¹¹⁵.

Concerning his early life in the East and his suicide on his return, scholars are confined to the interpretation of one passage in Bar 'Ebrōyō's Arabic chronicle, recently newly translated both by Kedar/Kohlberg and Burnett¹¹⁶. On reviewing this passage again, Jürgen Tubach suggested a new theory on Theodore's origin, upbringing and character, based on the assumption that Theodore was not, as Bar 'Ebrōyō reports, born as a Syriac Orthodox Christian but was instead a converted member of the Church of the East.

Tubach's grounds were Theodore's name, which he considers uncommon for Syriac Orthodox; secondly, his attachment to Mesopotamia demonstrated by his emigration to the schools in Mosul and Baghdad;

¹¹³ Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link' (see n. 28), pp. 1-78.

¹¹⁴ Ch. Burnett, 'Magister Theodore, Frederick II's Philosopher', in *Federico II e le nuove culture: Atti del XXXI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 9-12 ottobre 1994*, ed. Centro italiano di studi sull Basso Medioevo — Accademia Tudertina, Todi/Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo Spoleto (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 225-85; B.Z. Kedar and E. Kohlberg, 'The Intercultural Career of Theodore of Antioch', *The Mediterranean Historical Review*, 10 (1995), pp. 164-76; J. Fried, 'Kaiser Friedrich II. als Jäger oder Ein Zweites Falkenbuch Kaiser Friedrichs II.?', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philolog.-histor. Klasse* (1996), pp. 115-56; J. Tubach, 'Ein Nestorianer am deutschen Kaiserhof?', in *Zur Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen: Ausgewählte Vorträge des deutschen Syrologen-Symposiums vom 2.-4. Oktober 1998 in Hermannsburg*, Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte, 9 (Münster, Hamburg, etc., 2000), pp. 275-312; I would like to thank J. Fathi-Chelhod for first pointing out Theodore and Tubach's discussion to me, as well as H. Takahashi for the possibility to use the manuscript of his bio-bibliography, H. Takahashi, *Barhebraeus (Bar 'Ebroyo): A Bio-Bibliography* (Frankfurt, 2002) (manuscript), p. 57.

¹¹⁵ Ch.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Harvard Historical Studies, 27 (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 245-8, etc., who was not sure of the origin of Theodore. He considered him to be either Greek or Jewish and did not give much credit to Bar 'Ebrōyō's account, which he did not consult directly. E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, 2 vols, Werke aus dem Kreis der Blätter für die Kunst (Berlin, 1927), I, pp. 314-5, etc., II, p. 150, etc., whose knowledge was then entirely indebted to Haskins. For references to the current state of research see D. Abulafia, 'The Kingdom of Sicily under the Hohenstaufen and Angevins', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, V, c. 1198-c. 1300, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 497-521. For a summary of the discussion on Theodore since the end of the nineteenth century, see Kedar and Kohlberg, 'Theodore' (see n. 114); Burnett, 'Theodore' (see n. 114).

¹¹⁶ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Historia*, pp. 521-2 (p. 341), for commentaries see Kedar and Kohlberg, 'Theodore', pp. 175-6, and Burnett, 'Theodore', pp. 228-9, who additionally gathered and translated all the Arabic and Western sources concerning Theodore, pp. 255-85.

and thirdly, the fact that his journey from the court of Frederick II back to the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean was directed to Acre, and not to Antioch.

Tubach's suggestions are welcome because they point towards interesting problems of the history of the Syriac Orthodox in the principality in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As Tubach rightly stated, the name Theodore was not frequently held by Syriac Orthodox bishops, but he errs in assuming that no Syriac Orthodox writer of this name is known¹¹⁷. Theodore bar Wahbūn is the obvious example¹¹⁸.

Clearly, Theodore's journey to the East is, in principle, proof of the existence of student migration from Antioch to the East. Rather than supporting Tubach's hypothesis that Theodore travelled to the land of his or his parents' origin, it tells something about the quality of teachers and schools in the East, compared to the Syriac Orthodox West, especially in thirteenth-century Antioch. Even given the more positive view on intellectual life in Antioch by Burnett and Hiestand¹¹⁹, the intellectual opportunities of the Syriac Orthodox in Antioch can not have been outstandingly good at the time, considering the circumstances discussed above.

Since Bar 'Ebrōyō testifies that Theodore was Syriac Orthodox, there is a need for Tubach to construct a conversion. The reason for the conversion is said to have been the ambition of a career. Again, too little is known about the relation between the few Syriac Orthodox in Antioch and the probably still fewer members of the Church of the East present in the city, to provide material for a substantial discussion¹²⁰. But, certainly, the Syriac Orthodox church would not have been an option for a young and ambitious East Syrian immigrant in Antioch who was in pursuit of a secular career and who did not shy away from conversion in order to reach his aims.

¹¹⁷ A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn, 1922), pp. 376-7.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-1. No East Syriac form of the name (*Ya(h)ḡ-Allāhā*) need be assumed; in Edessa the name Theodore was frequently used by the Syriac Orthodox; of course, there was also the Syriac Orthodox church of Mōr Theodore, see *Anonymi chronicon eccl. ad annum 1234*, II, pp. 295-6 (II, pp. 221-2).

¹¹⁹ Hiestand, 'Un centre intellectuel' (see n. 38).

¹²⁰ See, for example, A.-D. von den Brincken, 'Islam und Oriens Christianus in den Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters Oliver († 1227)', in *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. A. Zimmermann and I. Craemer-Ruegenberg, für den Druck besorgt von G. Vuillemin-Diem, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 17 (Berlin and New York, 1985), pp. 86-102, here p. 95.

From Bar 'Ebrōyō's testament we learn that Theodore became proficient in Syriac in his youth in Antioch. A hagiographical manuscript, written in the year 1192 in the city of Antioch, supports the assumption that the Syriac Orthodox communities indeed maintained language studies¹²¹. The presence of the patriarchal residence and its *curia* in the thirteenth century might also have fostered these ventures. Intellectual life and medical knowledge prospered in Armenian Cilicia, of which the Syriac Orthodox in Antioch could take advantage¹²². But all this could only serve to acquire the taste for more: the most famous teachers, the best schools and the most promising connections for students fluent in Arabic were certainly those in the East.

Mosul and Baghdad were important Syriac Orthodox centres at that time and also provided well-to-do physicians, philosophers and natural scientists, Theodore's contemporary Jacob of Bartella († 1241) being only one famous example¹²³. Compared to these places, Outremer was provincial, the size of Antioch's ancient walls and its grand tradition notwithstanding. Scientific excellence is the reason Burnett convincingly suggested for Theodore's journey, a reason Tubach did not discuss¹²⁴.

In about 1243, the family of the Syriac Orthodox physician, Aaron from Melitene, arrived in Antioch after he had served the Mongol conqueror¹²⁵. Aaron's son, later the Maphrian Bar 'Ebrōyō, only stayed for a short while before moving on to Tripoli. In 1246 he had already been promoted as bishop for Gubbos¹²⁶. When Bar 'Ebrōyō and his school-friend studied

¹²¹ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syriaque 234, see Zotenberg, *Catalogue* (see n. 72), p. 185. What use was made of this collection of century-old hagiographical texts and what function did the story of the girl, who, disguised as a boy, followed her father into the monastery, have for the community at that time, or the story of the bishop, who failed to stand up for his faith as he faced death? While no interpretation can be attempted at this stage, I would like to highlight the existence of the collection and the need for a historical approach to these texts.

¹²² A. Schmidt, 'Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Großen', *Le Muséon*, 109 (1996), pp. 299-319, here p. 304, also for bibliographical references.

¹²³ Mōr Ignatius Aphrem I. Barsaum, *Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaques* [Arab.] (Glane, 1987), pp. 404-7, in the new German translation by A. Gorgis and G. Toro, *Geschichte der syrischen Wissenschaften und Literatur von Mor Ignatios Aphrem I. Barsaum Patriarch von Antiochien und des ganzen Ostens* (Berlin, 2002) (manuscript), pp. 306-8. I would like to thank A. Gorgis for the permission to use the material. Baumstark, *Geschichte* (see n. 117), pp. 311-2; Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl., or.*, pp. 409-11 (pp. 410-12).

¹²⁴ For example see Burnett, 'Theodore' (see n. 114), pp. 230-2.

¹²⁵ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Historia*, p. 487 (p. 319).

¹²⁶ The chronology of Bar 'Ebrōyō's moves is not entirely clear, see Takahashi, *Bibliography* (see n. 115), pp. 16-8 for sources and references.

rhetoric and medicine with the Eastern *mlilō*, a rhetor, in Tripoli¹²⁷, war and terror had also driven refugees into the west, among them scholars, who made their living in Outremer. However, there was apparently no reason either for the *mlilō* or for young and gifted men like Bar 'Ebrōyō and his friend, to settle in Antioch for their studies.

Tubach accuses Bar 'Ebrōyō of romantic and tendentious distortion of the reason for Theodore's wish to return to his place of origin and youth; Theodore is said to have been homesick but unable to leave Frederick's court and therefore had to make his departure stealthily. But there is more material to consider because Bar 'Ebrōyō relates several similar stories in his chronicles: the homesick Patriarch Ignatius is one case in point¹²⁸. Another is the physician Ḥasnūn, a native from Edessa, who is said to have suffered all his life as a foreign physician in the city of Aleppo and longed to return home in his old age¹²⁹. He demonstrated the same mobility as Theodore.

Because of his frequent moves and his search for a position, Tubach insinuates that Theodore was pathologically ambitious¹³⁰. This is too little evidence for such a far reaching speculation about a character. Ḥasnūn, by the way, is said to have been a very amiable and corpulent old gentleman, who enjoyed telling historical stories and anecdotes from his practical life¹³¹. For the interpretation of the account in question further systematic study is needed¹³².

Bar 'Ebrōyō reports that Theodore's ship on its journey to the East was thrown back and washed ashore into the arms of the emperor from whom he had tried to defect and he is said to have taken his life out of shame. Winds were not always reliable and sometimes radically changed direction. Theodore had taken a ship to Acre, because Acre was the harbour for ships arriving from the West. From there one would take coastal boats to St Symeon in the north¹³³.

¹²⁷ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, occ., p. 667 (p. 668).

¹²⁸ See above note 34.

¹²⁹ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 457 (pp. 391-2). See also the context of the present account, Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Historia*, pp. 521-26 (pp. 340-4).

¹³⁰ Tubach, 'Ein Nestorianer' (see n. 114), p. 293.

¹³¹ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 457 (p. 392).

¹³² Bar 'Ebrōyō's being an immigrant and a foreigner himself for most of his life even became part of his name, see the careful treatment of the controversy about his name and origin by J. Fathi-Chelhod, 'L'origine du nom Bar 'Ebrōyō': Une vieille histoire d'homonymes', *Hugoye* (<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye>) 4, 1 (2001).

¹³³ For the situation of the harbours, the prevailing winds and subsequent ship-routs in the twelfth and thirteenth century see, for example, *The Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (New York and Oxford, 1990), p. 100, Burnett, 'Theodore' (see n. 114),

Eclipse

Is the scarce evidence sufficient to suggest that the displaced people from the East, the Syriac Orthodox included, preferred Tripoli to the ancient and holy city of Antioch during these years? The county and the harbour might have seemed safer and therefore more attractive. This could have resulted in the development of an affluent Syriac Orthodox community and the infrastructure it could provide for yet more refugees to integrate. At least Ṣalība, Bar 'Ebrōyō's early companion in their days as students and who later became his rival, Maphrian Ignatius IV (1253-1258), had become so strongly attached to the city that he returned from the East to find rest in Tripoli. He is said to have donated large sums to the Latins as well as to the Syriac Orthodox 'churches and monasteries'¹³⁴. At the time the Latin bishops seemed rather disinterested in the diocese of Tripoli and were even frequently absent from Outremer, which could have made Syriac Orthodox donations and even prelates welcome¹³⁵.

Bar 'Ebrōyō was the one of the great Syriac Orthodox chroniclers to tell the tale, rather short and matter of fact, about the conquest of Antioch in the year 1268. He had seen many conquests, refugees and ruins in his early life.

About the conquest of Antioch: in June of this year the Lord of Egypt, Būdūqdōr, sent armies against Antioch the Great, of Syria, and they took it with the sword, because it had no army sufficient for its defence, and also those who were inside had no understanding that they should surrender it in peace. And therefore the Egyptians went in and killed all the men, and laid waste the famous churches, they led away captive the women, the boys and girls, and they left the city behind in ruins and deserted until this day¹³⁶.

p. 234; J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge 1988).

¹³⁴ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, or., p. 427 (p. 428), the plural seems highly significant in the light of the scarce data on churches in Antioch. Bar 'Ebrōyō considered Syria and Mesopotamia very unsafe at the time, especially for Christians, see Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon eccl.*, or., p. 431 (p. 432) and elsewhere.

¹³⁵ On the Latin bishops Albert de Robertis (1243-8), Gregor de Montelongo (1248-51, translation to Aquileia), Opizo de San Vitale (1252-9), see Antweiler, *Bistum Tripolis* (see n. 61), pp. 137-46, 147-52, 153-71.

¹³⁶ Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 525 (p. 448), reduced to one sentence in Bar 'Ebrōyō, *Historia*, pp. 547-8 (p. 357). Baybars took Antioch on the 19th of May 1268.

CONCLUSIONS

The general extreme scarcity of sources for the Syriac Orthodox West allows for no generalization, whether for the entire principality or for the entire period. Instead marked regional differences can be suspected, concerning the number and the position of Syriac Orthodox Christians in the cities between Adana, Antioch and Tripoli. Among the urban communities throughout the principality mentioned at all in the sources, the one in Antioch proper seems to have been the smallest.

Concerning the interregional consequences of the political situation, one might assume that differences in language and culture between the Syriac Orthodox in the principality versus the regions further east could have been aggravated, due to the different intensity of their respective relations with Latins, Greeks, and Armenians versus Turks, Arabs, or Mongols. On the other hand, contacts between Syriac Orthodox institutions and individuals with Antioch were upheld during the period of our investigation and, in the case of the patriarch and the Church of Mōr Barṣawmō, even intensified. The arrival of new Syriac Orthodox immigrants and refugees from the East, as well as the patriarchal court, strengthened the Syriac Orthodox presence in the capital. But certainly the Syriac Orthodox centres of learning and perhaps also the centres of culture lay elsewhere.

The systematic approach to the region led to some questions about the administration and management of the diocese. As the titular diocese of the patriarch, the case of Antioch posed unique problems and the specific situation of the region must have been characterized by them: there seems to have been a certain vacuum of responsibility. For some time, the metropolitan of Tarsus held the jurisdiction of the capital but he did not perform the consecration of the Syriac Orthodox Church of Mōr Barṣawmō in the year 1156. Only the ousted metropolitan of Edessa and later, after his flight, the former metropolitan of Jerusalem seem to have resided in Antioch as vicars to the patriarch. There is proof of the repeated presence of a *sō'ūrō*, a *periodeutes*, from the Monastery of Mōr Barṣawmō in the first half of the thirteenth century but his office is only accounted for in relation to the Church of Mōr Barṣawmō.

During the twelfth century, several Syriac Orthodox patriarchs visited Antioch or even established a temporal residence there. In the thirteenth century, a representative new residence was built. The Latin held cathedral was apparently used as a symbol of the universality, integrity and legitimacy of the Syriac Orthodox patriarchate, as the throne of St Peter

was integrated in the central ritual of the enthronement of the patriarch. In return, the Syriac Orthodox hierarchy was prepared to accept a practical subordination under Latin supervision in Antioch in the thirteenth century. For the Syriac Orthodox church as a whole, however, this pragmatic concession was of little consequence.

The main result of this survey seems to be that the implementation of more analytical methods is advisable. Basic inquiries and evaluation of art-historical results, archaeological evidence, liturgical and hagiographical sources could perhaps help to open up new perspectives on this region and the capital. At least for the Syriac Orthodox prelates who wrote the chronicles, as well as for the prelates residing in Antioch, the capital was the name, fame and memory of the seat of St Peter and Ignatius. In the tradition of the latter, frequently at first and later always, his name was assumed by the Syriac Orthodox patriarchs, following the example of Ignatius III David in the thirteenth century. The function that the contemporary city of the twelfth and thirteenth century had for the Syriac Orthodox church, however, remains somewhat obscure.

NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN,
WITNESS TO THE FIRST CRUSADE?

SOME REMARKS ON HIS PERSON,
HIS USE OF LANGUAGE AND HIS WORK,
NAMED *TAKTIKON*, ESP. LOGOS 31*

WILLEM J. AERTS *

At the previous conference on the history of the Crusader States, I presented a lecture with a partial translation of the *Hodoiporikon* of Konstantinos Manasses¹. This time I was inspired by my colleague, Dr Krijnie Ciggaar, to have a look at a number of pages, edited by V. Benešević in his *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur*². It concerns some five λόγοι of the Melkite theologian, Nikon of the Black Mountain, who may have been witness of the First Crusade.

It should be said that not much material about Nikon is known and the number of publications limited³. I will, therefore, start with a survey of what biographical notes say about Nikon, and then focus on one of the λόγοι 31, 35, 36 and 37, four of the five λόγοι as edited by V. Benešević. Additionally, I make use of a transcript of these chapters

* I wish to thank Mrs. Marie Butler-Aerts for correcting my English text.

For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ See W.J. Aerts, 'Het Hodoiporikon ("Reisverslag") van Konstantinos Manasses', in *Tetradio, Tijdschrift van het Griekenlandcentrum*, 11 (2002), pp. 9-53 (Greek text, metrical translation into Dutch and notes); the same with an English translation in *East and West in the Crusader States*, III, pp. 165-223.

² Part I (Saint-Petersburg, 1911; reprint Hildesheim, 1965).

³ For this article I used the following works: Nasrallah, 'Un auteur du XI^e siècle' (1969); (1983); Doens, 'Nicon'; A. Kazhdan, 'Nikon of the Black Mountain', *ODB*, p. 1484; A. Solignac, 'Nicon', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, 11 (1982), p. 319 ff.; V. Grumel, 'Nicon de la Montagne Noire et Jean IV (V) l'Oxite', *Revue des études byzantines*, 21 (1963), pp. 270-2; J. Darrouzès, 'Le Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins', *Revue des études byzantines*, 21 (1963), pp. 50-100; P. Gautier, 'Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d' Antioche: Note biographique', *Revue des études byzantines*, 22 (1964), pp. 128-57; Averil Cameron, 'Blaming the Jews: The Seventh-Century Invasions of Palestine in Context', in *Travaux et Mémoires: Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, 14 (Paris, 2002), pp. 57-78; Milka Levy-Rubin, ' "The Errors of the Franks" by Nikon of the Black Mountain: Between Religious and Ethno-Cultural Conflict', *Byzantion*, 71 (2001), pp. 422-37 (discusses esp. logos 38).

and also of λόγος 38, which Prof. Chr. Hannick from Würzburg kindly made available to me.

Data about Nikon's life are as follows: He was born in Constantinople around A.D. 1025 to an illustrious family⁴. He served in the army under the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (A.D. 1042-55) and thereafter, entered a monastery where he was tonsured and invested by the former metropolitan of Anazarbus⁵, named Luke, who had founded a monastery in the Black Mountain north of Antioch, housing 150 monks. It is said that the patriarch of Antioch ordained him priest. Nikon was Luke's most prominent pupil and collaborator and became his successor after his death. But Nikon's efforts to impose stricter rules on his fellow monks failed. He tried to establish his own monastery, but his rules were not accepted there either. Nikon then went to the Monastery of Symeon the (Younger) Thaumaturge on the Wondrous Mountain⁶ that was destroyed by the Seljuks in 1084. He found refuge in the Monastery of the Theotokos (Mother of God) of the Pomegrenate (Θεοτόκου τοῦ Ποιδίου) in Syria. Nasrallah says that he died in the Monastery of Saint Symeon, which would imply that this monastery was rebuilt after the arrival of the Western crusaders. Others mention that he died in the Theotokos Monastery. Nikon's death is dated shortly before or after A.D. 1100. One may suppose that he lived to see the conquest of Antioch by the Western crusaders (1098)⁷.

Nikon has at least two important works to his name: 1. the so-called *Pandektai* — *Ἐρμηνεῖαι τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κυρίου*, 'Interpretations of the instructions of the Lord' —; and, 2. the so-called *Taktikon* (or *Typikon*). A third work, named *Μικρὸν Βιβλίον*, is often mentioned as a work authored by Nikon, but recent findings express doubt regarding his

⁴ Nasrallah, 'Un auteur du XIe siècle' (1969), p. 151: 'd'une famille illustre'.

⁵ Town north of Antioch. Luke was ordained metropolitan of Anazarbus by the Patriarch Nicholas the Studite (1025-30). At the end of his life he resigned. See Doens, 'Nikon', p. 133.

⁶ On Symeon the Thaumaturge, see e.g. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 2, 1 (Munich, 1959), p. 397. The Wondrous Mountain was a hill in the neighbourhood of Antioch.

⁷ I think that it is wise to be cautious in that respect: logos 38 comprises indeed an attack on Western theology but this is in itself not sufficient reason for the supposition that it was inspired by the fact that the crusaders from the West had already conquered Antioch and/or Palestine. Any historical remark on this situation is lacking in logos 38. The subject became a popular theme in the twelfth century, see Darrouzès, 'Le Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès' (see n. 3).

authorship⁸. The *Pandektai* is a compilation of precepts taken from the Fathers and from the Acts of various synods. An enumeration of the chapters of this work is found in Migne, PG 106, pp. 1359-82. The *Taktikon* is a rather strange conglomerate of regulations for Nikon's monastery (the first two chapters) and letters to spiritual brothers and sons, in which he offers answers to their questions, presents historical excursions, discusses theological problems, and also inserts a number of reflections about his own life and career. As I mentioned earlier, five chapters, called λόγοι, of this *Taktikon* were published by Benešević.

It is my intention to initially supply an impression of the rather loose use of language, either due to the author himself or perhaps to awkward transmission. Then to give a more detailed comment on λόγος 31, which

⁸ Nasrallah, 'Un auteur du XI^e siècle' (1983), p. 110, n. 2, quotes a long passage on Nikon from Macarios Za Jim, an-Nahla, ch. 25 (Mrs. F. Doufikar-Aerts translated the Arab text for me into Dutch): 'You have to know that in the Monastery of St Symeon the Thaumaturge [text unclear] of Antioch, situated in the Wondrous Mountain, there was a holy learned monk whose name is Nikon. The patriarch of Antioch, together with the arch-priests, gave him per decree the mandate to travel around in the diocese of Antioch and its surroundings and to instruct the monks and other people and to show them the light by his instructions, which he did. In his life, this monk wrote three important books, stuffed with and full of profitable things for the believers. The first book is *The Comprehensive One* [*al-Hāwī al-Kabīr* / *Pandektai*] that is well known everywhere in our country. The second, only half so voluminous, is titled *The Small Typikon* and is full of useful information. The third one, half again of the second, comprises spectacular events and very extraordinary and creditable essays [prophesies?]. When our late teacher, the Bishop Aftīmīūs, the patriarch of Antioch, named Karmah (= vine tendril) saw the first book, *The Comprehensive One*, he was very pleased with it and started to make a copy of it. He did not find, however, at the front page the name of the author, the pious above mentioned Nikon. Instead of him he wrote that the author of *The Comprehensive One* was one of the monks of the Black Mountain, it is the Mountain Suwaidīya. When I, the poor Makāriyūs, after my condolence because of the dead of my teacher Karmah had traversed the whole country, making inquiries, and had studied all the other sacred books, I found one copy of *The Comprehensive One* with its front page in order, and there was mentioned the name of the above mentioned pious and blessed Nikūn, who lived in the Monastery of Symeon the Stylite, situated on the Wondrous Mountain. I also read both the other works which were written by the above mentioned, and I found also his name in the books. This Nikūn mentioned in these two books: "I, Nikūn, wrote three books: the first is *The Comprehensive One* and the (tarif) price for writing it is twelve dinars; the price of the second one is six dinars, and the tarif for writing the third one is three dinars". I, miserable person, copied both the books mentioned. We made two new ones of it, they are very extraordinary books and they are very beneficial works for us, believers. Be also informed that this pious Nikūn has mentioned that he finished writing this book in the year six thousand five hundred eighty of the world [= prob. 1072].'

This quotation does not create full clarity about the third work. According to Doens, 'Nicon', p. 137, however, the *Μικρόν βιβλίον* (± epitome) is preserved only in one Greek MS (Sinai 441) with an Arabic translation (Vatic. 76).

contains a considerable amount of interesting personal information, followed by minor remarks on λόγοι 35, 36, 37 and 38, of which 35 and 36 deal with a group of Armenians who adhere to the Chalcedonian doctrine, *Tzatoi*. Λόγος 37 delves into the history of the Iberians, or Georgians, and λόγος 38 reflects on the Franks and their theology.

As already suggested, the state of transmission of the texts, respectively Nikon's use of language, is often of an enigmatic character. Comparison of Benešević's text with Hannick's transcript made it at least clear that a great number of doubtful passages are as obscure in the transcript as in Benešević. Thus, in the first two sentences of λόγος 31, the main clauses are missing, unless one interprets καθώς here as 'though', an interpretation which would produce further questionable meaning. Beside, the emendation of ἐπηρεία into ἐπηρεία is necessary⁹. Thus, in §3 one has to read νεοττός (young) instead of the pointless νεοπῶς in both Benešević and Hannick¹⁰. These are *exempli gratia* a few examples of many text corruptions¹¹.

Another interesting aspect of the text in the light of the evolution of the Greek language is the idiom used by Nikon. He often stresses the fact that he did not receive the standard education of an aristocratic boy. He qualifies himself as uneducated and his style of writing χωρικός

⁹ "Πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφὲ κύρι Βασίλει (read: Βασίλη), καθὼς ἡ κατὰ θεὸν ἀγάπη σου ἠτήσατο καὶ ἐπέταξέν με γράψαι καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι σοὶ τινῶν κεφαλαίων τὴν εἶδησιν, ἅτινα καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος εἶπές με. Καὶ ἐγὼ ὁμῶς, καθὼς καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐσὺ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν πατήρ, ὁ πατήρ σου, οἶδατε, ὅτι πολλὰ ἠγάπουν συνδιαλέγεσθαι τὴν ἀγάπην σας καὶ συνομιλεῖν ἀπὸ πανταχόθεν ἐπηρεία δὲ τοῦ μισοκάλου ἀπετείχισεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆς τοιαύτης ὑφελείας ἰδοῦ πλέον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ."

Two times καθὼς suggests a parallelism, which would lead to a main clause, beginning with ἀπὸ πανταχόθεν. In that case (and as a matter of fact, in any case) one should read ἐπήρεια (nom.): 'in every way the insulting behaviour of the one who hates the good [= the devil] made a blockade for us from this profit, see, for more than a year.' The subordinate clauses with καθὼς suggest something like: '... Basil, though your love for God asked me... to write..., and I on the other hand — (though) you know, how much I loved it... to have conversation with you, < the devil prevented me from answering >.' With καθὼς in its 'normal' meaning, one misses a main clause after εἶπές με, and in the second sentence one misses either a second οἶδατε or another main clause after συνομιλεῖν. With two main clauses added, the idea could be: '... as you asked me <here is my answer>. I from my side, I loved conversing with you, <but I did not go round to write my answer down. Sorry> ... the devil, you know....!'

¹⁰ §3 "... ὡς ἦν ἀκμὴν νεοπῶς", read: νεοττός, 'I was still very young'.

¹¹ In the notes to my translation of logos 31, added to this article, other examples of text corruptions are indicated.

(boorish). Yet, Nikon is, in my opinion, not free from coquetry. It is Father Irénée Doens who, at the end of his article on Nikon, has supplied a short list of linguistic features of Nikon's text¹², such as e.g. the use of the accusative after prepositions which originally governed genitive, or dative, but also in dative functions. Subsequently, verb forms like ἡμουν, ἦσου, ἦτον instead of ἦ(ν), ἦσθα, ἦν (I was, you were, he/she/it was), contractions like κύρις for κύριος (master, Reverend)¹³, κρασίν for κρασίον (wine), verbs in -ώνω instead of -όω, petrified participles, absolute nominative constructions instead of the genitive absolute, etc¹⁴. One may add other peculiarities such as the frequent use of εἰς + acc. instead of ἐν + dat. for the place, where; neologisms like ἐνεπιτόμως (in short)¹⁵, ἐπιμέσεως (openly)¹⁶, *auristi primi* instead of *secundi*, such as εἶπα instead of εἶπον (I said), ἦλθα instead of ἦλθον (I came), εἶν, but also ἔνι instead of ἐστί (it is), or syntactica like “ὁ θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας μ' (τεσσαράκοντα) ποιήσας μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐν αὐτῇ πατριάρχης” (the see of Antioch made forty years without a patriarch coming = it took forty years before a new patriarch took the see of Antioch)¹⁷. It should, however, be noticed that an important part of Nikon's text breathes classical and *koine* idiom.

To continue, I will now present an analysis of λόγος 31. The addressee is addressed to as “Πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφὲ κύρι Βασίλει” (*sic*, leg. Βασίλη)¹⁸ — ‘My spiritual brother, Reverend Basil’. In the next line, mention is made of “ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν πατήρ, ὁ πατήρ σου”.

¹² Doens, ‘Nikon’, p. 139.

¹³ Similar contractions are to be seen in the names Βασίλειος > Βασίλις (> Βασίλης, see the first sentence of logos 31 κύρι Βασίλει (*sic*) where one should write κύρι Βασίλη) and Ἡράκλειος > Ἡράκλις (> Ἡράκλης, see §9, where mistakenly is written Ἡρακλῆς). See also note 17.

¹⁴ Petrified participles, e.g.:...νὰ ἐπακούσω ὑπακοὴν προσκρούοντα (instead of προσκρούουσαν) τὸν θεόν, τοῦτο φοβερόν. (...obedience which would offend God...). See for other examples the notes on the translation of logos 31. More than once participle constructions occur as a ‘nominativus absolutus’ instead of a ‘genitivus absolutus’ or a ‘participium coniunctum’. Thus e.g. logos 31, §9 Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (*sc.* ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος), οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν. ... κρυπτόμενοι ὀλίγοι χριστιανοὶ εἰς πρόσωπον ἦλθαν τοῦ βασιλέως.

¹⁵ The MS always writes ἐν ἐπιτόμως, and the first reaction is to emend to ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ. But it occurs too often to make that emendation plausible. Trapp, *LBG*, quotes in addition to Nikon one other place.

¹⁶ A neologism, see *ibid.*

¹⁷ Apart from the construction with ποιήσας, the whole sentence is, syntactically spoken, a mess.

¹⁸ See for this shortening of names Jannaris, §301.

It is unclear how this spiritual relationship is to be understood but one may presume that this Basil was also invested by the Hieromonachos Luke. Nikon apologizes that their communications were interrupted for over a year. He blames the devil. He then focuses on a number of questions that were raised by his correspondent(s). One question is very interesting. In several modern biographies¹⁹ it is stated that the Patriarch Theodosios III of Antioch ordained Nikon priest. Doens, Solignac and Levy-Rubin (dependent on Doens) do not mention this detail. But where this piece of information originates is unclear. In any case, in this λόγος it is made crystal clear that Nikon expressly declined priesthood on personal grounds. I translate the relevant passages as: (§3)

When our most holy master [δεσπότης] the patriarch invited me to come — I was still very young at that time — he was not sufficiently informed about my background, nor about my ideas [mind-set, γνώμην]. He started to speak to me about ordaining me priest and to send me to Baghdad. As to me, however, being certain about myself, that I am unacceptable for priesthood, I was not interested²⁰ [“ἀμερίμωως εἶχον εἰς τοῦτο”, lit. ‘I was unconcerned about it’].

Thereupon, the patriarch changed his tactics. As he reiterated several times: following the advice of the church leaders, metropolitans, and bishops as well as the laymen and the whole collective (of the religious), with the ordination he wished [to give me] the supervision [ἐγχειρίσιν, ‘power to act towards’?] of all the monasteries within and without the city borders, the nunneries included, and all things together.²¹ He put firm pressure on me, he, all the archpriests and others, that I would respond to this. (§4) Having considered all things and having scrutinized my conscience — after God the only authority which I shall use — and having stated what is most necessary, as far as God gave me insight, both things were settled: the priesthood, firstly, I did not accept it, as having absolutely no right to it; the second undertaking [ἐγχειρίσιν], how much pressure they ever put on me, I did not accept either because you need the rank of a metropolitan for the outside monasteries. As to the inside monasteries, I do not know how to say it. The responsibility for all things together is mixed up with the confusion and complications of the world [i.e. worldly life] and all these things are mixed up and intertwined with sins and, for that matter, offence of God. For these reasons I did not accept this undertaking, but [I accepted only] with love and humbleness the task with which I originally was invested thanks to God, however unworthy I am.

¹⁹ Nasrallah, ‘Un auteur du XIe siècle’ (1969), p. 152; idem (1983), p. 111; Kazhdan, *ODB*, l.c.; Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* (see n. 6), p. 600, *Tusculum Lexikon*, s.v. ‘Nikon’. Not in Doens, ‘Nicon’; Solignac, ‘Nicon’ (see n. 3); and Levy-Rubin, ‘Errors of the Franks’ (see n. 3).

²⁰ I think that the interpretation has to be so much as: ‘I did not show any interest in it’.

²¹ I suppose: ‘with full power in all matters’.

Two paragraphs later Nikon is more explicit about his behaviour. In his written answer to the patriarch he explains his refusal with the words: ‘... let no one dare to recommend me for the priesthood because I was contaminated in the world, and obedience which would offend God is terrible.’²² The following paragraph makes even this contamination more clear by the addition of the dative *σαρκί* (by the flesh), read: ‘by sexual intercourse in an illegal relationship’, that is to say, not in a marriage authorized by the church. And an official *διδάσκαλος* (teacher) as he is, he refers to the *κανόνες* (regulations) of the Fathers of the church, who declared marriage and priesthood incompatible. The views of the Fathers were compiled in a letter which was sent, as he expresses it, to the priest of Laodicea, with which possibly a letter is meant which the Apostle Paul is said to have sent to Laodicea²³, but more likely we have to do with a reference to one of the canons from the Synod of Laodicea in 347²⁴. At the paragraph’s end, Nikon expresses again his thankfulness to God who arranged his confirmation in the only task for which he believes himself worthy, namely to be a good teacher and interpreter of the Holy Scriptures.

After this personal explanation of the question why he declined priesthood, Nikon addresses himself to another question that was asked of him, not only by his addressee, but also by many others. The question makes reference to the week preceding Lent, which was named *τυροφάγος* (cheese-eating). Prior to answering, Nikon makes an interesting remark that a fellow monk, John, had made a collection of texts regarding this

²² For this argument one may compare a rule (*κανών*) such as formulated by Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople, no. 7 (Rhalles and Potles, IV, p. 427): “Ἐάν τις ἐν ἀσωτεία ἔζησε μέχρις ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐπέκεινα, εἶτα φανῆ ποιῶν ἔργα ἀρετῆς, οὐ χρὴ αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖσθαι· τὸ ἱερὸν ἀμόλυντον εἶναι δεῖ.” (If one lived in profligacy up to twenty years or more, but then appears as doing virtuous works, he should not be ordained [priest]. For the Holy ought to be undefiled). A stronger formulation is to be found in canon 36 (1st v) (in *ibid.*, p. 430): “Οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἄπαξ πορνεύσαντα χειροτονεῖσθαι, εἰ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀπέστη· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος· εἰ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνιστᾷ ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἱερεὺς οὐ γενήσεται” (He, who once committed fornication cannot be ordained, even being freed from his passion. For the great Basil says: Such a person, even if he raises the dead, he will not be a priest). See also note 23.

²³ See *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. ‘Laodikeia’. Attempts to reconstruct this letter on the basis of other letters of St Paul remained without result.

²⁴ In the *Syntagma canonum* of Patriarch Photios (PG 104) I did not find such a canon from the Synod of Laodicea, but see for the canons on priesthood and illegal marriage e.g. the VIth Oecum. Synod, canon 3 and 12 (PG 104, c. 512 ff.). Cf. *ibid.*, 516, Βασιλείου κανών, 12, which excludes married people twice.

subject. Nikon begins his answer by telling an apparently popular story from the time of the Emperor Herakleios²⁵. Jerusalem is conquered (A.D. 614) by the Persians. Most of the Christians are killed by the 'jealous' Jews²⁶, and the Patriarch Zacharias is deported to Persia with 'the holy woods of the Cross'. Many years later, Herakleios defeats the Persians and he returns the Holy Cross to Jerusalem. Zacharias had died in the interim. On his way to Jerusalem, the Jews intercept his journey bringing selected gifts, afraid that he will hear of the massacre of the Christians. They manage to let him swear that he will undertake nothing against the Jews. Upon his arrival in Jerusalem, however, Christians who survived by fleeing into the mountains and living in caves, greet him. They tell him what really happened at the time and ask for revenge, but Herakleios, bound by his oath to the Jews, refuses to do so. The Christians declare that they will take the guilt of perjury on themselves by fasting already in the week before Lent (eating not even cheese and eggs). Apparently the Jews were killed or at least chased away, but the story does not tell by whom.

Nikon names as his source *τὸ Χρονικὸν βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως*, 'The Chronicle of the Alexandrian'. The puzzling thing is, however, that the story is told twice²⁷. The second setting opens with the remark 'On the week of cheese-eating from another chronicle', which, strangely enough, is followed by the mention of the same source, 'The Chronicle of the Alexandrian'. In fact, the same story is written with slightly different wording. In the following paragraph, it is suggested that the difference between the two settings lies in the fact that one of them is taken from an epitome in a slovenly style, and the other from a fuller and more polished text. Then follows Nikon's remark that his sources differ about how Herakleios departed from Persia²⁸, but that they agree about the reason for fasting during the cheese-eating week. Nikon continues his story by mentioning a controversy in that respect between the Orthodox and,

²⁵ Sometimes with the correct spelling Ἡράκλειος, sometimes incorrectly with the name Ἡρακλῆς. In the latter case one has to read Ἡράκλης, in the same way as Βασίλης instead of Βασίλειος. See also note 12.

²⁶ On the animosity of Jews and Christians during the Persian invasion and conquest of Jerusalem and the later reconquest by Herakleios see Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, I, pp. 9-11 (with sources; not Nikon).

²⁷ §9 in the transcript of Hannick.

²⁸ This difference may be due to the fact that most of the sources mention that the patriarch returned alive to Jerusalem, whereas the source quoted by Nikon says that he had already died in Persia.

what he refers to as, the heretic Armenians. Their objection is as follows: 'Why should we be bound to fasting during this week due to the emperor and, therefore, valid only in Jerusalem?' His answer is that the Fathers did not make this regulation because of Herakleios, and less so given the fact that he died being a Maronite²⁹, but they instituted it as a purification preceding the real Lent. The liturgical texts and songs serve as proof of this.

The remark that Herakleios died a Maronite refers to his attempt to reconcile Orthodox and miaphysitic viewpoints by propagating the doctrine of monergism, a doctrine which was fiercely attacked by e.g. Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem between A.D. 634 and 638. But precisely this remark was helpful to identify 'The Chronicle of the Alexandrian'. It is no wonder that the reciprocal massacres in A.D. 614 and 629 are a continual theme in the (mostly Christian) historical reflections on this time, which are also important for the relations between Christians and Jews, especially in Palestine. In the recently published volume in honour of Prof. Gilbert Dagron³⁰, Averil Cameron who mentions nearly all the available sources but misses the passage in Nikon under discussion here and the explanation of the *tyrophágos*, elaborately discusses this theme once more. There is, yet, another aspect of this passage and its source. As is well known, very important information about Christianity in the East under rule of the Arabs is provided by the patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychios (or Sa'īd ibn Baṭriq; A.D. 933-40), in his *Annals* written in Arabic³¹. Fortunately his work is available in a Latin translation (Migne, PG 111)³². In §§193-5 mention is made of the nomination of the Patriarch Zacharias in Antioch followed in §§ 212-3 by the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians, the massacre of the Christians by the

²⁹ See also Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, I, p. 13.

³⁰ See note 3.

³¹ See on Eutychios e.g. Faustina Doufikaar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: Zeven eeuwen Arabische Alexandertraditie van Pseudo-Callisthenes tot Sūrī* (diss. University of Leiden, 2003), p. 18; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. In the Introduction to his anthology of Eutychios's work, M. Breydy gives a number of corrections to the dating of events from Eutychios's life: born 10 Sept. 877 instead of 17 Aug. 877; his patriarchate: 22 Jan. 735 (instead of 7 Febr. 733) — 11 May 740. See Breydy, *Annalenwerk*, pp. vi-vii.

³² *Ibid.*, has stated that the Latin translation of Pococke (= Migne, PG 111) is based on an interpolated and manipulated MS. Eutychios's sources of Greek origin (translated into Syriac and from there into Arabic) date, according to Breydy, not later than from the time of Herakleios; later sources are only synaxaria and hagiographies of famous saints, such as Epiphanius of Cyprus, John Chrysostom and Sophronios of Jerusalem, see pp. viii, ix.

Jews ('Judaeis una cum Persis Christianos innumeros occidentibus')³³, the captivity of Zacharias and the Holy Cross. It is here that we are introduced to information that Zacharias died in captivity (against all other sources)³⁴. But also the story of the victory of Herakleios and his restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem is told at length, and here we find all the ingredients which played a part in the story of Nikon, indeed proving its epitome. In Eutychios we find the story in §§240-8. In §240 Herakleios is already defined as a Maronite, and at the end of this paragraph the action is pictured of the Jews who go out with gifts to meet Herakleios and to achieve immunity. Upon his arrival in Jerusalem he is informed of what really occurred in the past. We then read the question of Herakleios 'quid ergo, inquit, vultis?' (what do you want?), the Christians' proposal to seek revenge on the Jews, Herakleios' protest because of his oath, and the long discourse of the Christians who will bear the consequences of the perjury by fasting extra in the week before Lent ('jejunio..., quo in tui gratiam jejunemus, ovorum et casei esu omisso quamdiu durabit religio Christiana' — 'the fast which we shall fast for your salvation by refraining from eating eggs and cheese as long as Christianity will last'). Eutychios dwells somewhat more on this subject rejecting the theory that fasting in the week preceding Lent was because of the emperor and pointing out that there was a canon formulated by St Nikephoros³⁵, patriarch of Constantinople, a canon which Nikon also refers to in the following paragraph. He ends this discussion by saying that fasting cannot be held on behalf of a human being, 'let alone of that emperor who, ending his life on earth, died a Maronite'.

There cannot be any doubt about the fact that Nikon borrowed both story and theories from Eutychios. But now the question arises whether he used an epitome written in Arabic and translated by himself or, more likely, epitomes written in Greek of which he had at least two at

³³ The 'genuine' sources mention that the Jews paid for the Christians in order to hold them in captivity and to kill them. The first source for this story seems to be Antiochos Strategos, see D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago and London, 1984), ch. 190, pp. 266-7, where the story in the translation of F. Conybeare is told. But see also Theophanes Confessor, 300,30-301,5; John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, 14,15, ed. L. Dindorf, 6 vols (Leipzig, 1868-75), III, p. 307,15.

³⁴ See e.g. Theophanes Confessor, pp. 327,14 and 328,24; John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, 14,16, III, pp. 309-10.

³⁵ On the Canons of Nikephoros, see Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* (see n. 6), pp. 489-91.

his disposal. According to M. Breydy³⁶, in the introduction to his anthology from the work of Eutychios, Eutychios's work was reformed by the continuator of the Annals, Yahyā ibn Sa'īd, who introduced this work in Antioch after its reconquest by the Byzantines! Here may be the link.

§11 again offers some personal information within the framework of his further discussion about the *tyrophágos* week. He informs his addressee that his explanations are never based on hearsay and that he is very careful about matters of faith, even if there is written documentation³⁷. Then he quotes the fourth canon of Nikephoros: 'the monks have to fast on Wednesday and Friday in the week of *tyrophágos*, but will eat cheese [and eggs]³⁸ after the Mass of the presanctified gifts.'³⁹ This canon suspended the rule of Jacob⁴⁰ and the heresy of the *Tetradites*⁴¹. In §12 he elaborates on fasting regulations, and in §13 he introduces the doctrines of the *Tetradites*. From §14 on, a new question, this time about the history of the patriarchate, is answered briefly because he wrote already extensively about this subject in a letter to the Reverend Brother John. The first sentence of §15 confronts us again with a problem; it reads: "Γέγραπται ἐν ἱστορικῷ βιβλίῳ ἤτοι Τακτικόν [sic], ὅτι Ἄφοῦ παρεδόθησαν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐκράθησαν παρὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κτλ." (In a historical work or *Taktikon* is written: Since Jerusalem was surrendered to and in the hands of the Saracens etc.). Given the wording of this sentence, this *Taktikon* can hardly be his own work with this name, so we have to look for another historical source that is defined as 'Taktikon'. This is confirmed by the first sentence of

³⁶ Breydy, *Annalenwerk*, p. ix.

³⁷ He nevertheless refers more than once to oral information.

³⁸ Addition in the transcript of Chr. Hannick, probably based on the Slavonic translation, but perhaps wrongly. Nikon's text almost literally quotes Nikephoros, see note 38.

³⁹ See Nikephoros, canon 33 (λγ'), Rhalles and Potles, iv, p. 430: "Δεῖ νηστεύειν τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῇ τετράδι τῆς Τυροφάγου, καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν προηγιασμένων ἀπόλυσιν ἐσθίειν τυρόν, ὅπη ἂν ἐπιχωριάζουσιν, εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ τῆς τῶν Τετραδιτῶν αἵρέσεως" (The monks have to fast on Wednesday of Cheese-eat-week, as well as on Friday, but after the service of the presanctified gifts they eat cheese, wherever they may be. This will dispose of the rule of Jacob and of the heresy of the Tetradites). See also Lampe, s.v. προαγιαζω. As a rule fasting ended at three o'clock p.m.

⁴⁰ Directed against the Jacobites, who allowed to eat meat in the week of *tyrophágos*, see e.g. Konstantinos Stilbes, §101, in 'Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès', ed. Darrouzès (see n. 3), pp. 50-100, Greek text, lines 473-80.

⁴¹ A heresy that postulated not a Trinity but a Quaternity of God, see Lampe, s.v. τετραδίται, sub 2 and 4.

§18: 'All these things are written in the above-mentioned book.' Leaving the identity of this book aside for the moment, we are informed that the see of Antioch was void for some time and that the incumbents lived in Constantinople until the Arabs consented to the accession of patriarchs from Syria. After the reconquests achieved by John Tzimiskes, the original situation was restored and we are informed about a cognizance conflict between the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch concerning the nomination of a deacon. The patriarch of Antioch wins the conflict. For the ranking of the patriarchates, Nikon further refers to other sources, among them to a letter to the patriarch of Venice⁴². One question is more often referred to, namely the right of sanctifying the holy oil. It appears that this right originally belonged to the patriarch of Antioch exclusively because, as outlined in *λόγος* 37 on the Georgians, the patriarchate possessed estates in Georgia where the required plants were cultivated. But because of commerce made of it, the Synod of Chalcedon had generalized this right of sanctifying.

In the last paragraph (§20), Nikon reflects once again on his task as a teacher with reference to the lots which were given to the apostles and he asks to be freed from the guiles of the devil.

Thus far my review of *λόγος* 31. Now a few brief statements on *λόγοι* 35 and 36. Both have to do with a group of Armenians who adhere to the Chalcedonian creed, the Tzatoi. Nasrallah suggests that Nikon, for the first time, met them in the Monastery of the Theotokos tou Rhoïdiou. That is improbable. In *λόγος* 35 two letters are quoted received by Euthymios, patriarch of Jerusalem. One of the letters was written by Petros, abbot of the Monastery of St Symeon the Thaumaturge. The problem is the accusation of non-Orthodoxy directed at these Tzatoi. Nikon rejects all these accusations by pointing to letters and historical sources which prove their Orthodoxy. In *λόγος* 36 we are reacquainted with Nikon's mandate for teaching and the problem of the Tzatoi is discussed again.

⁴² On the Venetian patriarchate, see D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 54. For its relationship with Constantinople, *ibid.*, p. 60; G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856-7; reprint Amsterdam, 1964), I, p. 52. (I thank Miss Daphne Penna for these references). Cf. also Fr. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (Paris, 1975), p. 39, and the notes 1 and 2.

Logos 37 is addressed to his spiritual son Gerasimos. Here Nikon describes the history and position of the Iberians, as referred to by the Byzantines, Georgians to us. As is well known, the Georgians and the Armenians belong to the first peoples who embraced Christianity⁴³. But whereas the Armenians generally associated themselves with the miaphysites, the Georgians adhered to Chalcedon. I would like to make only one remark concerning this λόγος 37. At the end it is told that Symeon the Thaumaturge had a dream. He saw “σταυροφόρους” (crusaders) from the East who came to his monastery. The Holy Ghost informs him that these people are Iberians who wish to live a monk’s life. Striking is the use of the word σταυροφόρος which usually refers to the crusaders of the West. Perhaps this terminology has contributed to the idea that Nikon, in any case, witnessed the conquest of the Near East by the Western crusaders, an event which, as far as I have seen the dossier, is not specifically referred to by Nikon. This brings me to my last λόγος, 38, where Nikon discusses the errors of the Franks. This λόγος was recently analysed by Milka Levy-Rubin, from which it becomes clear that Nikon in fact does not do much more than repeat what was previously said about the controversies between East and West, especially stimulated by the Patriarch Photios. Levy-Rubin states Nikon’s sources and stresses the fact that Nikon informs his reader that the Franks were called Germans originally and that their different heretic viewpoints go back to the Vandals who conquered Rome. She argues that Nikon is the first to reduce the Frankish heresies to this circumstance. It should be said that the identification of Franks and Germans is as old as Prokopios, whereas Theophanes Confessor gives the same identification and the story of the conquest of Rome by the Vandals, together with the remark that all these (Gothic) peoples adhered to the Arian heresy (Theoph. 94,9-95,25)⁴⁴. The critical point in respect to the question whether Nikon has indeed witnessed the arrival of the crusaders in the area, is his vague remark in λόγος 38: “ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔθνος

⁴³ See for the Christianization of Iberia (Georgia) and Armenia a.o. David Braund, *Georgian Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia 550 BC-AD 562* (Oxford 1994), pp. 238-9, 246-55, 282.

⁴⁴ *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, ed. J Hauriy (Leipzig, 1962-4), III, 3,1; v, 11,29; v, 12,8. See III, 3,1: “Βανδίλοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ὠκημένοι λίμνην, ἐπειδὴ λιμῶ ἐπιέζοντο, ἐς Γερμανούς τε, οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται, καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥῆνον ἐχώρουν ...” On their Arianism: III, 2,5: “τῆς γὰρ Ἀρείου δόξης εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, ...”; Theophanes Confessor, p. 94, 24-25: “οἱ δὲ Οὐανδῆλοι Ἀλανούς ἐταιρισάμενοι καὶ Γερμανούς τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους Φράγγους, διαβάντες τὸν Ῥῆνον ποταμὸν, ...”; idem, 94,13-14: “πάντες δὲ τῆς Ἀρείου ὑπάρχουσι κακοπιστίας.”

τῶν Φραγγῶν ἐκστρατεύει” (since the people of the Franks are on campaign) and the interpretation of these words. Is there a connection with his observation in the earlier paragraph where it is said that Nikon returned to the Monastery of St Symeon which was freed from the Muslim Turks? Any indication of the conquest of Antioch and/or this monastery by the crusaders is lacking. It should in any case be remarked that λόγος 38 is an answer to a question put to him by a priest who is addressed to as “πνευματικέ μου τίμιε πάτερ” (my honoured spiritual father) and one has to ask, which was the circumstance of this priest for putting forth this question. Had this man experience with the crusaders or do we have to suppose that he too, on hearing about the campaign of the westerners, wished to be informed in advance?

I will end with some preliminary conclusions. My impression from what I have read in this limited section of the Nikon dossier is that Nikon must have been, on the one hand, an odd man out who did not have the education which was to be expected, considering his descent. That does not mean that he did not develop extensive skill in reading and writing. He regularly expresses the truth about his being uneducated and using a boorish style but this sign of modesty should work as litotes. I believe he was also a rather stubborn man who did not wish to accommodate neither to mandates proposed by his patriarch which would interfere with his monastic life, nor to the feelings of his fellow-monks⁴⁵. On the other hand, his interest in theological problems must have been great. His works convey a considerable knowledge of theological works from the past whether it is reports of synods, liturgical works, lives of saints, nomocanons, theological studies, or commentaries on the Bible. He made summaries of many books which were available in the library of St Symeon in order to use them in situations in which the original works did not exist any longer. It should, however, be remarked that justice can be done to his personality only when all the λόγοι of the so-called *Taktikon* are scientifically edited. I think it will be worth the trouble but it will be also a very troublesome undertaking.

⁴⁵ Perhaps one may suppose that Nikon tried to convert an idiorrhhythmic rule of monastic life into a cenobitic one.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Breydy, *Annalenwerk* = M. Breydy, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien: Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'id ibn Batrîq um 935 A.D.*, CSCO 471 = *Scriptores Arabici*, 44 (Leuven, 1985).
- Chatzidakis, *MNE* = G.N. Chatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νεοελληνικά*, 2 vols (Athens, 1905, 1907).
- Hatzidakis, *Einleitung* = G.N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1892).
- Doens, 'Nicon' = I. Doens, 'Nicon de la Montagne Noire', *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), pp. 131-40.
- Jannaris = Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London, 1897; reprint Hildesheim, 1987).
- Kriaras, *LMEDG* = E. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669* (Thessalonica, 1969 ff.).
- Lampe = G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1991¹⁰).
- *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. M. Buchberger and W. Kasper, 11 vols (Freiburg, 1993-2001³).
- Nasrallah, 'Un auteur du XIe siècle' (1969); (1983) = J. Nasrallah, 'Un auteur du XIe siècle: Nicon de la Montagne Noire (vers 1025 — début du XIIe s.)', *Proche-Orient chrétien*, 19 (1969), pp. 150-61; a rewrite of this article appeared in *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, III, 1, (969-1250) (Leuven, 1983), pp. 109-22.
- Rhalles and Potles = *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, ed. K. Rhalles and M. Potles, 4 vols (Athens, 1852-59).
- Sophocles, *Lexicon* = E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914; reprint Hildesheim, 1975).
- Theophanes Confessor = Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1883-5; reprint Hildesheim, 1963).
- Trapp, *LBG* = E. Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* (Vienna, 1994 ff.).

NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN,
LOGOS 31 (TRANSLATION)*

+ From the same (Nikon) to the same reverend Basil: that practising teaching is a good thing; and that if one has disgraced himself by whatsoever a sin¹, he cannot any longer be a priest; and about the week of cheese-eating; how it was ordained; and further about the see of the patriarchate of Antioch; and about the week of cheese-eating, how it was ordained; and further about the see of the patriarchate of Antioch.

§1. Spiritual brother of mine, reverend Basil², as your love of God has asked me and ordered me³ to write and send to you the information from a number of chapters, about which you spoke to me face to face; and I from my side, as in principle both you and our common father, your father⁴, know: I enjoyed it very much to discuss and converse with you, my loved ones, but the insulting behaviour⁵ of the one-who-hates-the-good laid from all sides a siege for us to prevent us from such a profit, and that for more than a year. But because the all-merciful God through the intercession of the all-purest Mother of God and our common holy master, the great worker of miracles Symeon did not tolerate the behaviour of the hater-of-the-good, <he gave that>⁶ your love to God grows steadily, but also to me,

* I thank very much my colleague Michael Metcalf for correcting the style of my translation.

¹ Πάθος (passion) = ± ἀμάρτημα (sin), see Lampe, s.v. πάθος II A 3. Cf. Apoc. 14:4 οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν· παρθένοι γάρ εἰσιν.

² Ms. Βασίλει, but read Βασίλη, voc. from Βασίλης < Βασίλις < Βασίλιος < Βασίλειος.

³ με instead of (classic) μοι.

⁴ This remark is not very clear. Is it suggesting that Nikon's spiritual father, Lukas, was also the natural (and spiritual) father of Basilus?

⁵ I read <ή> ἐπήρεια instead of ἐπηρεία of the MS (transcript). With the dative it is unclear which is the subject of ἀπετείχισεν.

⁶ A verb that governs the infinitives προκόψαι and ἐνδείξασθαι is lacking. One has probably to distil from οὐκ εἴασεν an idea εἶαθη, 'it was allowed/given (by God)', which I rendered with 'he gave that...' Anakoluthons frequently occur in Nikon's text.

TEXT Νίκωνος λόγος λα΄.*

218v +Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον Βασίλειον, ὅτι καλὸν ἢ ἔμπρακτος διδασκαλία· καὶ ὅτι εἰς οἰονδήποτε πάθος μολυνθῆ τις, οὐκέτι ἱερατεύει καὶ περὶ τῆς τυρινῆς τὴν ἑβδομάδα πῶς ἐτυπώθη· ἔτι καὶ περὶ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ πατριαρχείου Ἀντιοχείας.

§1. Πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφὲ κύρι Βασίλη¹, καθὼς ἢ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπη σου ἠτήσατο καὶ ἐπέταξέν με γράψαι καὶ ἀποστεῖλαί σοί τινων κεφαλαίων τὴν εἶδησιν, ἅτινα καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος εἶπές με. Καὶ ἐγὼ ὅμως, καθὼς καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐσὺ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν πατήρ, ὁ πατήρ σου, οἶδατε, ὅτι πολλὰ ἠγάπουν συνδιαλέγεσθαι τὴν ἀγάπην σας καὶ συνομιλεῖν, ἀπὸ πανταχόθεν <ἢ> ἐπήρεια² δὲ τοῦ μισοκάλου ἀπετείχησεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆς τοιαύτης ὠφελείας ἰδοὺ πλέον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ πανοικτίρμων Θεὸς διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς παναχράντου Θεοτόκου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου κοινοῦ ἡμῶν αὐθέντου Συμεῶν τοῦ μεγάλου θαυματουργοῦ οὐκ εἴασεν τὴν ἐπήρειαν τοῦ μισοκάλου, ἢ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπη σας ἐπὶ πλεῖον προκόψαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἀνάξιον τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐνδείξασθαι διὰ τῆς αὐτοψεί σου ὁμιλίας, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡμῶν πατρὸς καὶ πατρὸς σου διὰ γραμμάτου· τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐχάρην εἰς τοῦτο «ὡς ὁ εὐρίσκων σκῦλα πολλά.»

* This text has no other pretention than to be at the service of the reader of the translation. It is based on a comparison of the edition of Benešević and the transcript of Hannick, which was kindly put at my disposal. The division into §§ follows Hannick's transcript which supposedly will be also the division in his coming scientific edition. For § 9b only Hannick's transcript was available. The conjectures/emendations (clarified in the notes to the text and/or translation), spellings (e.g. itacistic corrections), accentuations and use of capitals are mine. I also adopted the 'modern' use of the Latin question mark.

¹ See translation note 2.

² See translation note 5.

unworthy one, that I can demonstrate His love by a personal discourse with you and on the other hand by writing⁷ to our common father, and yours. And I rejoiced very much at this 'as one that findeth great spoil'⁸.

§2. In the first place, being moved by the love to God, as is said: '<I explain> my secrets for my people and for the sons of my house'⁹, so I, unworthy man, am explaining all things. But nevertheless, these things were delayed, because of the hindrance which occurred and which meant that I did not reveal your love towards God.

For what in the past hitherto I made clear to you, my loved ones¹⁰, was very, very little¹¹. But now I will make also this clear to you.

§3. When our most holy master the patriarch¹² summoned me — I was all the same still young¹³ — he did not precisely know my circumstances nor my mentality. He started to speak to me¹⁴ about ordaining me a priest and sending¹⁵ me to Baghdad. As to me, however, being certain of myself, that I am unacceptable for ordination, I was not interested¹⁶. Next, he changed his tactics. Following the advice (as he reiterated several times) of the church leaders¹⁷, metropolitans, and bishops as well as the laymen and the whole community (of monks),

⁷ διὰ γραμμάτου (!). For this form see Jannaris §369, Chatzidakis, *MNE* 2, 14-15.

⁸ = Psalm 119: 162, 'I rejoice at thy word, as one that findeth great spoil'.

⁹ It is not clear from where this quotation is taken. As to the construction of the sentence, the idea of φανεροποιῶ must also be valid for the quotation; I therefore added this idea already there.

¹⁰ τὸ ὅσον ἐφάνερωσα τὴν ἀγάπην σας: for the frequent use of the accusative (τὴν ἀγάπην σας) instead of the dative, see Doens, p. 139. I consider τὴν ἀγάπην σας as an *abstractum pro concreto*.

¹¹ μικρὸν μικρὸν: Nikon uses this kind of 'comparative degree' more often.

¹² Theodosius III, patriarch of Antioch (1057-1059).

¹³ The MS (both in Beneshevitch and the transcript of Hannick) has νεοπῶς, but read νεοττός.

¹⁴ ἐλάλησέν με, again acc. pro dat.

¹⁵ The MS has ἀποστείλειν. One has to ask whether this should be emended or not. In §1, line 2 the correct form ἀποστεῖλαι (aor.) is written; one may think here also of ἀποστέλλειν. But seen Nikon's fluctuating style and language level it is not unthinkable that ἀποστείλειν (as = ἀποστεῖλαι) should be maintained. For inf. pres. ending in -ειν instead of inf. aor. ending in -(σ)αι, see G.N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung*, p. 142; Horrocks, *Greek*, pp. 227-8.

¹⁶ This is my interpretation of ἀμερίμνωσ εἶχον εἰς τοῦτο: 'I was not concerned about it.'

¹⁷ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχόντων.

§2. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης κινούμενος, καθὼς εἴρηται, ὅτι «τὰ μυστήριά μου τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου», οὕτως καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνάξιος φανεροποιῶ πάντα. Καὶ ὅμως τέως τὰ ἤργησαν, ἀφοῦ τὸ σκάνδαλον γέγονεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνέρωσα τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπην σας· τὰ γὰρ πρῶην μικρὸν μικρὸν τέως τὸ ὅσον ἐφάνέρωσα τὴν ἀγάπην σας, ἀρτίως δὲ φανεροποιῶ σας καὶ τοῦτο.

§3. Ὄταν ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης ὁ πατριάρχης προσεκαλέσατό με — ὅμως ὡς ἦν ἀκμὴν νεοττός³ —, οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ οὔτε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐλάλησέν με διὰ χειροτονίαν καὶ ἀποστείλειν εἰς τὸ Βαγδᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ εἰδὼς ἀσφαλῶς, ὅτι ἀνένδεκτός εἰμι εἰς χειροτονίαν, ἀμερίμνως εἶχον εἰς τοῦτο. Ἐπειτα πάλιν μεταβληθεὶς μετὰ συμβουλῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπων ὁμοίως καὶ λαϊκῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ συστήματος, καθὼς καὶ τότες ἔλεγέν με, ἠβουλήθη τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου χειροτονία <....>⁴ καὶ τὴν ἐγχείρησιν τῶν ἔξω πάντων μοναστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἔσω τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γυναικείων καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ. Καὶ ἐπολέμησέν με τότες πολλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποί, ὅπως ἐπακούσω εἰς τοῦτο.

³ See translation note 13

⁴ See translation note 18. The Slavonic addition stands after ὁμοῦ, the additional verb after ἠβουλήθη (δοῦναι?) would have had its natural place here, in my opinion.

together with the ordination he wished <to give me> the supervision¹⁸ of all the monasteries within and outside the city borders, the nunneries included, and this in all respects¹⁹. He put firm pressure on me²⁰. He, all the archpriests and others, that I would respond to this.

§4. Having considered all things²¹ and having scrutinized my own conscience — after God the only authority which I shall use (as a judge) — and having stated what is most necessary²², as far as God gave (me) insight: both things were settled, that is to say²³: the priesthood, firstly, I did not accept it, as having absolutely no right to it²⁴; the second undertaking, however much pressure²⁵ they put on me, I did not accept that either because one needs the rank of an archimandrite²⁶ for the outside monasteries. As to the inspection of the inside monasteries, I do not know how to say it. The responsibility is, after all²⁷, at once mixed up with the confusion and complications of the world (i.e. worldly life), and all these things are mixed up and intertwined with sins and, for that matter, offense towards God. For these reasons, I did not accept this undertaking, but (I accepted) only with love and humbleness the task with which I originally was invested thanks to God, however unworthy I am²⁸.

¹⁸ An additional verb after ἠβουλήθη (he wished) is lacking. The Slavonic translation is helpful here with 'vozložiti mi'. The interpretation of ἐγχείρησις (undertaking) is to be derived here from ἐγχειρίζω 'entrust', 'govern', cf. Lampe s.v. ἐγχειρίζω.

¹⁹ καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ: this addition is not very clear. My interpretation is: 'and of all things together' > 'and this in all respects', but one may perhaps think of 'and of all (the nunneries) in the same way'.

²⁰ Nikon uses the strong word ἐπολέμησέν με: 'he made war on me'.

²¹ συνειδῶς πάντα. The whole sentence is an anacoluthon, starting with the first person singular subject, but continuing in the 3rd person neuter plural, finally returning to the 1st person singular.

²² Text (at the transition of 218v-219r): ἀναγκαιότερον, read: ἀναγκαιότερον.

²³ My rendering of καὶ here: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἱερατεῖον ..., τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐγχείρισιν.

²⁴ ὡς μὴ λαγχάνοντά με, with the participle petrified.

²⁵ Again the strong word ἐπολεμοῦσαν.

²⁶ οὐκ ἔδεξάμην διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἔχοντα τάξιν: a harsh construction with (again) a petrified participle.

²⁷ The Greek text has τέως πάντων, but I suppose that one should read τέλος πάντων.

²⁸ The construction ends with an absolute genitive, where a conjunct participle would be correct.

219r §4. Ἐγὼ δὲ συνειδῶς πάντα καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον συνειδὸς ἐρευνήσας, τὸ μέλλω μόνον μετὰ Θεὸν ἔχειν κριτήν, καὶ τὸ ἀ//ναγκαιότερον κρίνας, καθὼς ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκεν γνῶσιν, οἰκονομήθησαν τὰ ἀμφοτέρω· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἱερατεῖον ὅλως ὡς μὴ λαγχάνοντά με οὐκ ἔδεξάμην, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν⁵ ἐγχείρησιν οὕτως μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπολεμοῦσαν οὐκ ἔδεξάμην διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἔχοντα τάξιν τὴν τῶν ἔξω μοναστηρίων. Τὴν τῶν ἔσω δὲ πάλιν οὐκ ἔχω πῶς εἰπεῖν, τέως⁶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀναμεμιγμένην τῇ τοῦ κόσμου συγχύσει καὶ περιπλοκαῖς καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντα ἀναμεμιγμένα καὶ συμπεπλεγμένα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ τὸν Θεὸν παροξύνοντα. Ἔνεκεν τῶν τοιούτων τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ταύτην οὐκ ἔδεξάμην, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ ἀγάπης καὶ ταπεινώσεως, καθὼς καὶ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναξίου μου ὄντος, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγχειρίσθην.

⁵ Beneševič reads δευτέραν, Hannick ἑτέραν.

⁶ See translation note 27.

§5. And in the way that the Lord had considered, so He settled it. And who is there²⁹ now, who did not discover God's wisdom and mercy?³⁰ And in the same way I did not resign from the ministry of teaching which was originally given to me, but though being unworthy, being equally unworthy as Jacob of old³¹, — and it was the Lord who settled it in his divine wisdom — I received the seal and benediction in faith by my master, the most holy patriarch. And thus I explain the Holy Scriptures and make clear what escapes the ordinary public, and all other subjects, which they ask about and which they need³², just as your love of God has done it.

§6. These things are relevant not only to me, but simply to all who, after God³³, have authority in these³⁴ matters, just as one can find that our fathers of old practised without 'guardianship'³⁵. In the same strain I then wrote openly and categorically thus: 'Let no one whosoever³⁶ promote me for priesthood, for I disgraced myself in the world, and to be obedient, while at the same time offending³⁷ God, is a terrible thing. But if things tally with my position and rank, I do not resist.' I wrote this down on paper and sent it to our master³⁸, the very holy patriarch. And by God's grace (the difference between) the approved obedience and (justified) disobedience openly became clear: I did not abandon my ministry, but <I did not accept> priesthood³⁹.

²⁹ The Greek text has τίς πον, a strange and further unknown construction. One might think of a corruption of τίς που; the expression occurs, however, several times elsewhere in the text. We have probably to do with a contraction of τίς που ἔναι > τίς που ἔν > τίς πον. See also note 36.

³⁰ For this meaning see Lampe s.v. οἰκονομία C 3.

³¹ Nikon's intention is somewhat unclear: is he referring to the fact that Jacob, though having deceived his father and his brother Esau, nevertheless received the blessing of God, or is he pointing to Jacob wrestling with the angel (as he, Nikon, was 'wrestling' with the patriarch)?

³² Text: ἄλλα, ὅσα τοῖς αἰτουῦσιν καὶ χρήζουσιν. I delete τοῖς.

³³ The text has μετὰ θεόν, but one has perhaps to understand 'with God's help' = μετὰ θεοῦ. The 'modern' tendency of construing the accusative after all prepositions is often visible in Nikon's text. See also note 52.

³⁴ Nikon often uses τοιοῦτοι with the meaning of οὔτοι.

³⁵ δίχα ἐπιτροπῆς, i.e. without (mandate of) a higher authority. For ἐπιμέσεως see Trapp, *LBG* s.v.

³⁶ Again τίς πον (= τίς που εἶναι/ἔναι).

³⁷ προσκρούοντα (= προσκρούων), petrified participle.

³⁸ τὸν δεσπότην: again acc. pro dat.

³⁹ With the opposition ὑπακοή — παρακοή Nikon points to his behaviour by which he opposes goody-goody obedience to the patriarch to disobedience based on his conscience. In his transcript Hannick adds οὐκ ἔδεξάμην, but this addition is probably unnecessary.

§5. Καὶ ὅμως καθὼς ἐσοφίσατο <ὁ> Κύριος⁷, οὕτως καὶ ὠκονόμησεν· καὶ τίς πον⁸ τέως οὐκ ἔγνωσεν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν? Ἄλλ' ὅμως τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοθεῖσάν μοι διακονίαν τοῦ διδασκαλείου οὐκ ἐπαιρησάμην, ἀλλ' εἰ⁹ καὶ ἀνάξιος, ὅμως κατὰ τὸν πάλαι Ἰακώβ ἐγὼ ἀνάξιος ὢν, θεϊκῆ δὲ σοφία οἰκονομήσας ὁ Κύριος, τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ εὐλογίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐδεξάμην τοῦ δεσπότη μου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου. Καὶ ὅμως τὰς θείας γραφὰς καὶ τὰ λανθάνοντα τοῖς πολλοῖς φανεροποιῶ καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα [τοῖς] αἰτοῦσιν καὶ χρήζουσιν, καθὰ καὶ ἡ ἐσὴ ἀγάπη ἢ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀρτίως πεποίηκεν.

§6. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐμὲ μόνον ἀρμόζουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετὰ Θεόν, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώην ἡμῶν πατράσιν εὐρίσκονται πράττεσθαι καὶ δίχα ἐπιτροπῆς. Καὶ ὅμως ἐγὼ τότες ἔγραψα ἐπιμέσεως ἀποφαντικῶς οὕτως, ὅτι «Μὴ τολμήσῃ μέ τίς πον¹⁰ μαρτυρήσειν εἰς ἱερατεῖον, ὅτι εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐμολύνθην, καὶ νὰ ἐπακούσω ὑπακοὴν προσκρούοντα τὸν Θεόν, τοῦτο φοβερόν. Τὰ δὲ συντείνοντά με εἰς τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν βαθμόν μου, εἰς ταῦτα οὐκ ἀντιτείνω.» Καὶ ταῦτα γράψας εἰς χαρτίον, τὸν δεσπότην ἡμῶν τὸν ἁγιώτατον πατριάρχην ἀπέστειλα. Καὶ ἀπεδείχθη ἐπιμέσεως διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ἐπαινουμένη ὑπακοὴ καὶ παρακοή, τὴν μὲν διακονίαν μου μὴ παραιτησάμενος, τὸ δὲ ἱερατεῖον¹¹.

⁷ The addition of the article is necessary, in my opinion (comp. 5 lines further on). It easily disappeared by haplography.

⁸ See translation note 29.

⁹ In transcript ἀλλὰ εἰ.

¹⁰ I accented the words this way in order to indicate that τίς in this context is an indefinite pronoun.

¹¹ Τὸ ἱερατεῖον is depending on an unexpressed παραιτησάμενος.

§7. However being unworthy and piteous, I love it very very much to practise talking about the word of God and to explain⁴⁰ the holy writings, and not only simply and aimlessly by words. And so I openly showed⁴¹ by myself that it is unseemly and unlawful that one who is disgraced by the flesh without the costly and legitimate marriage should be a priest for the sake of repentance⁴². Repentance, indeed, purifies of sins but does not grant priesthood, as the divine canons commend. In this way it became openly clear by (my?) word and action what the divine laws say about priesthood⁴³. From these divine canons a letter was formulated by the grace of God about all these rules with respect to the priesthood to the presbyter of Laodicea⁴⁴. All these and still other rules, which by the providence of God were accumulated and written in different <writings>⁴⁵, were collected by our spiritual brother, the Reverend Johannes, and also others have them⁴⁶. But as to me then, being after that freed for the understandable reason of my illness — and time brought recovery⁴⁷, I concentrated to the best of my ability on my understandable obedience⁴⁸, as I

⁴⁰ In the transcript φανεροῖν, to be emended into φανεροῦν.

⁴¹ The text reads ἀποδείξας, but there follows no main clause. So I read ἀπέδειξα.

⁴² It is probably Nikon's intention to say that one perhaps would accept priesthood to do penance for his former sins, but he rejects this viewpoint appealing to canon law.

⁴³ τὰ τῶν θείων κανόνων = οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες. The form ἐφανερῶθη in itself is 'neutral', and probably intentionally, though Nikon is in fact pointing to his own words and deeds.

⁴⁴ This reference is not very clear. Does it point to the alleged letter to the people of Laodicea, reconstructable from Paul's letters, cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. Laodicea? Unless we have to do with a reference to the Synod of Laodicea, see note 49 of my introduction.

⁴⁵ The text reads ὅσα ἐν διαφόροις ... ἐσυνάχθησαν, but it seems that a noun is lacking: ἔργοις, (συγ)γράμμασι?

⁴⁶ The words καὶ ἕτεροι ἔχουσιν are a mere appendage.

⁴⁷ This passage is not only obscure, the transmission of the text must be corrupt. The text runs as follows: Ἐγὼ δὲ τότες τῆς πρώην εὐλόγου ἀφορμῆς τῆς ἀρρωστίας μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαλλαγείς καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἦγην τὸ κατὰ δύναμίν μου τῆς εὐλόγου ὑπακοῆς οὐκ ἠμέλησα, I read: Ἐγὼ δὲ τότες τῆς πρώην εὐλόγου ἀφορμῆς τῆς ἀρρωστίας μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαλλαγείς (καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ὕγινη) τὸ κατὰ δύναμίν μου τῆς εὐλόγου ὑπακοῆς οὐκ ἠμέλησα, ... The illness is probably referring to the time of his living in sins, though real illness is not to be excluded. My rendering 'and time brought recovery' is a mere guess: the text reads καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἦγην τὸ κατὰ δύναμίν μου ..., but neither ἦγην nor ἦγην τὸ delivers a reasonable interpretation. I consider ἦγην as a corruption from ὕγινη or ὑγίνη (being the Ionic aorist in medical writings) and I take τὸ as the substantivation of κατὰ δύναμίν μου. But either the Arabic or the Slavonic translation may perhaps clarify the passage.

⁴⁸ I have interpreted οὐκ ἠμέλησα as a litotes: 'I was not neglectful' > 'I concentrated on'. Nikon qualifies both ἀφορμῆς τῆς ἀρρωστίας and ὑπακοῆς as εὐλόγου 'understandable'. If correct, then we have to understand that he sees his illness as a reasonable punishment from God, and his obedience, being his obedience to his task as a teacher, as the fulfilling of his wish, which is clarified in the next explanations.

219v §7. Εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος καὶ ἔλεινός, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλὰ ἀγαπῶ διὰ πράξεως λαλεῖν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον καὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς φανεροῦν¹², καὶ οὐ διὰ λόγου μόνον¹³ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀσκόπως. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπιμέσεως ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἀποδείξας, ὅτι ἀνάρμοστον καὶ παράνομόν ἐστιν τὸν μολυνθέντα σαρκὶ δίχα τοῦ τιμίου καὶ νομίμου γάμου ἱερατεύειν ἔνεκεν τῆς μετανοίας· ἡ μετάνοια γὰρ // τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀποκαθαίρει, οὐ τὴν ἱερωσύνην χαρίζεται, καθὼς οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες διακελεύονται. Καὶ ὅμως ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἐπιμέσεως ἐφανέρωθη περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τὰ τῶν θείων κανόνων. Ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν δὲ θείων κανόνων ἐπιστολὴ καθηρμόσθη διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης εἰς τὸν πρεσβύτερον Λαοδικείας. Ἔπερ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐν διαφόροις <...>^{13a} προνοία Θεοῦ ἐσυνάχθησαν καὶ ἐγράφησαν, συνάξας ὁ πνευματικὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς κύρις Ἰωάννης καὶ ἕτεροι ἔχουσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τότες τῆς πρώην εὐλόγου ἀφορμῆς τῆς ἀρρωστίας μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαλλαγείς (καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ὑγιηνε)¹⁴ τὸ κατὰ δύναμίν μου τῆς εὐλόγου ὑπακοῆς οὐκ ἠμέλησα, ὡς καὶ πάλιν τέως ἕως ἄρτι καὶ μετέπειτα ἕως οὗ τῷ Θεῷ δοκεῖ· οὕτως γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία οἰκονομεῖ εἰς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι καὶ τὰ εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς συνεργοῦντα πρὸς ὑπακοὴν ἄγει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βλάβος ψυχῆς ἀνατρέχοντα παρακούειν καὶ ἀποφεύγειν κελεύει κατὰ πάσας τὰς θείας γραφὰς.

¹² See translation note 40.

¹³ I write μόνον with Benešević, Hannick's transcript has μόνου.

^{13a} See translation note 45.

¹⁴ See the translation note 47.

did again from then till now and I shall continue to do as long as it is God's will. For the wisdom of God thus works for those who want to be saved and brings all things which co-operate for the benefit of the soul to obedience, but demands everywhere in the Holy Scriptures to disobey and to escape from all things which run up⁴⁹ for damaging the soul.

§8. As to your question, my spiritual brother, as was also asked by many others both from other places and equally from here: we have written according to everyone's problem whatever God gave in co-operation with their belief and love of God⁵⁰. All this, as I said already, was collected by our spiritual brother, Reverend Johannes and others of our community⁵¹, and they have it. But now I shall, as I did with all of them⁵², also repay, as much I can with the help of God⁵³, for your inspired love to God the salutary debt.

§9 (1st column). Here is now the explanation about the week of 'cheese-eating'⁵⁴. In the Chronicle Book of the Alexandrian⁵⁵ it is told, how the Hebrew inhabitants of Jerusalem driven by mean jealousy killed all the Christians who lived in Jerusalem. At the conquest of Jerusalem by the Persians the very holy Patriarch Zacharias was taken prisoner together with the precious woods (= the Holy Cross). Next, however, the emperor of the Romans, Heracles (sic)⁵⁶, conquered with that wondrous heavenly help of God given to the Romans and with wondrous providence the Persian power by force, but he found the very holy Patriarch Zacharias already deceased. He took, however, the precious woods (of the Cross) back and returned⁵⁷ them to Jerusalem. The forementioned

⁴⁹ τὰ ... ἀνατρέχοντα, probably the image of weeds suffocating the soul.

⁵⁰ Again a rather harsh anacoluthon.

⁵¹ My interpretation of καὶ ἕτεροι ἡμέτεροι.

⁵² With μετ' αὐτῶν πάντων are probably meant the foreign and own people mentioned in the first sentence of this §.

⁵³ In the text μετὰ θεὸν, where μετὰ θεοῦ would be more logic, but perhaps the construction is already due to the general tendency of connecting prepositions with the accusative (see also in the next § μετὰ τὴν θείην ... βοήθειαν 'with the heavenly...help'). A very complicated sentence to express the simple communication: 'I shall now answer your question'!

⁵⁴ This is the week before Lenten fast, during which eating of cheese (and fish) was permitted.

⁵⁵ For this Chronicle, see my introduction p. 132.

⁵⁶ The text (transcript) reads Ἡρακλῆς, where one should read Ἡράκλῆς < Ἡράκλειος, like Βασίλῆς < Βασίλειος.

⁵⁷ ἤρχετον (subj. Heraclius) with transitive meaning!

§8. Ἐσὺ δέ, πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφέ, τὰ ἅπερ ἠτήσω, καθὼς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλας χώρας καὶ ἀπ' ὧδε ὁμοίως αἰτησάμενοι, κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἐπίταγμα εἶ τι ὁ Θεὸς ἐδωρήσατο συνεργούσης τῆς αὐτῶν πίστεως καὶ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης ἐγράψαμεν. Ταῦτα πάντα συνάψας, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα, ὁ πνευματικὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς κύρις Ἰωάννης καὶ ἕτεροι ἡμέτεροι ἔχουσιν. Ἔστι δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐσὴν ἔνθεον ἀγάπην ἀποδώσω μετὰ Θεὸν τὸ ψυχωφελές χρέος τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν.

§9a. Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε τέως περὶ τῆς ἐβδομάδος τῆς τυροφάγου τὴν ἐξήγησιν. Εἰς τὸ χρονικὸν βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως ἐξηγεῖται, πῶς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Ἑβραῖοι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ζηλοτυπία φερόμενοι πονηρᾶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ Χριστιανούς πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης Ζαχαρίας μετὰ καὶ τῶν τιμίων ξύλων, εἶθ' οὕτως πάλιν μετὰ τὴν θείαν ἐκείνην παράδοξον βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους γεγενημένην καὶ παραδόξῳ προνοίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἡράκλης¹⁵ τὴν Περσικὴν δυναστείαν κατὰ κράτος νικήσας, τὸν μὲν ἀγιώτατον πατριάρχην Ζαχαρίαν τελευτήσαντα εὔρεν, τὰ δὲ τίμια ξύλα ἀναλαβὼν πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἤρχετον. Οἱ δὲ προλεχθέντες Ἑβραῖοι, οἱ τοὺς Χριστιανούς ἀποκτείναντες, φοβηθέντες καὶ δῶρα λαβόντες πρὸς ὑπαντήν ἦλθον τοῦ βασιλέως, μετὰ δόλου τοῦτον εἰς ὄρκον κρατήσαντες. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠρώτα· «Πόθεν ἐστέ?» Ἀνταπεκρίθησαν δὲ αὐθις· «Δοῦλοι τῆς βασιλείας σου πένητες, οἱ Ἑβραῖοι // κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.» Καὶ ὡς ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν ὄρκον μὴ ἀδικῆσαι αὐτούς, οὐκ ἔγνω τὸν δόλον ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦτο μὴ βουλόμενος τούτους ἀδικῆσαι ὤμοσεν αὐτούς ὄρκῳ. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις κρυφαίοις¹⁶ τόποις κρυπτόμενοι ὀλίγοι Χριστιανοὶ

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¹⁵ In MS Ἡρακλῆς, but one has to do with the shortened name of Ἡράκλειος > Ἡράκλης, comp. in §1 Βασίλειος > Βασίλης. The version in §9b uses the correct name.

¹⁶ MS κρυφείοις, Benešenič κρυφίοις, but unjustly.

Hebrews who had killed the Christians were afraid: they took gifts with them and went to meet the emperor, having cunningly bound him with an oath⁵⁸. The emperor asked them: 'From where are you?' They answered from their side:⁵⁹ 'Servants of your empire, poor Hebrews who live in Jerusalem.' And when they asked him an oath not to harm them, he did not see through their ruse, and therefore, because he did not have any intention to do them harm, he swore an oath to them. But at his arrival in Jerusalem the few Christians who were hidden in the mountains and other refuges came before the emperor. Being asked if there were no others they revealed all things to the emperor. At that moment the emperor understood the ruse of the Hebrews. So he said to them (the Christians): 'What do you wish to be done?'⁶⁰ They asked that the Hebrews should be killed and that it should be done to them as they had done. The Emperor Heracles feared his oath and chose not to do so. Realizing this but being eager to reach their goal, the Christians destined⁶¹ this week of cheese-eating for strictly fasting because of breaking⁶² the Emperor Heracles's oath.

§9 (2nd column). On the week of 'cheese-eating' from another chronicle. In the Chronicle Book of the Alexandrian it is told, how the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem driven by jealousy killed all the Christians who lived in Jerusalem, as has been said above⁶³. When the conquest of Jerusalem by the Persians took place also the precious woods were brought to Persia, together with the patriarch. After Heraclius⁶⁴ had thus brought about his great and admirable victory with the help of God, he found that the patriarch, indeed, had died, but he took the precious woods back, as already said, and restored them to Jerusalem. The forementioned

⁵⁸ μετὰ δόλου τοῦτον εἰς ὄρκον κρατήσαντες: if not proleptically pointing to the oath of immunity, then this is intended as an oath preceding the audience. I translated it this way. In the second version the same sentence is used, but there in the context of the audience itself.

⁵⁹ δὲ αὐθις.

⁶⁰ Τί ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν ποιήσω. Probably one should read ὑμῖν <νά> ποιήσω. But see also note 67.

⁶¹ ἐτύπωσαν lit. 'they minted', 'they moulded'.

⁶² τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου <παραβάσεως>. The (necessary) addition from Hannick's transcript.

⁶³ Strange is the indication of another chronicle, whereas it concerns in fact the same Alexandrian chronicle. The story is the same, be it somewhat shorter and in a slightly different wording. The first text notably speaks only about Hebrew(s), the second also about Jews (once with the adj. godless).

⁶⁴ Here the correct name is used.

εἰς πρόσωπον ἦλθαν τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἐρωτώμενοι δέ, ὡς μὴ ἕτεροι οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀπεκάλυψαν πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ. Τότε ἔγνω ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑβραίων τὸν δόλον. Εἶτα λέγει αὐτούς: «Τί ἀρεστόν ἐστὶν ὑμῖν <να> ποιήσω?»¹⁷ Οἱ δὲ ἠτήσαντο τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ καθὼς ἔπραξαν ταῦτα¹⁸ παθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλῆς¹⁹ τὸν ὄρκον φοβούμενος οὐκ ἠρετίσατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ καὶ θέλοντες τοῦτο ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἐτύπωσαν ταύτην τὴν ἑβδομάδα τῆς τυροφάγου νηστεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου τοῦ Ἡράκλῆ²⁰ βασιλέως <παραβάσεως>²¹.

§9b²². Περὶ τῆς ἑβδομάδος τῆς τυροφάγου ἀπὸ ἄλλου χρονικοῦ. Εἰς τὸ χρονικὸν βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως ἐξηγεῖται, πῶς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Ἑβραῖοι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ζήλω φερόμενοι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ Χριστιανούς πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καθὰ καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται. Ὅτε ἡ ἄλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ τίμια ξύλα σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ εἰς Περσίδα ἤχθησαν. Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ ποιῆσαι Ἡράκλειον τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθεια τὸ μέγα καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστον νῆκος, καὶ τὸν μὲν πατριάρχην εὔρε τελευτήσαντα, τὰ δὲ τίμια ξύλα ἀναλαβών, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπανῆκεν. Οἱ δὲ προλεχθέντες ἄθεοι Ἰουδαῖοι, οἱ τοὺς Χριστιανούς ἀνελόντες, φοβηθέντες καὶ δῶρα λαβόντες πρὸς ὑπαντήν ἐξῆλθον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ μετὰ δόλου τοῦτον εἰς ὄρκον

¹⁷ See the translation notes 60 and 67.

¹⁸ Perhaps ταῦτα.

¹⁹ MS Ἡρακλῆς, but see note 15.

²⁰ MS Ἡρακλῆ, but see note 15.

²¹ The addition παραβάσεως is taken from the second version of the story in §9b in the transcript of Hannick, who places the word after ὄρκου. A place at the end of the sentence can explain its loss by the similarity of the endings -εως / -εως.

²² §9b not in Beneshevitch, but in another column in the MS, as appears from the transcript of Hannick. See also the translation note 63.

godless Jews who had killed the Christians became afraid, took gifts and went out to meet the emperor, and having bound him cunningly with an oath, it was the emperor who asked them⁶⁵ from where and who they were. And they answered: 'Servants of your empire, poor Hebrews, living in Jerusalem.' And he swore not to do them any harm, unconscious of what had happened. As soon as he had arrived in Jerusalem he came across a few Christians hidden in caves in the mountains⁶⁶. On asking them, if there were no other Christians, the emperor learned what the Hebrews had done to the Christians. So the Emperor understood the ruse of the Jews, and he said to the Christians: 'What do you wish? I shall do it!'⁶⁷ They asked that they themselves would suffer what they had done. But the emperor fearing his oath was not prepared to do this. The Christians, however, wanted to attain their goal and destined that week for strictly fasting because of the(ir)⁶⁸ breaking the oath. So far about this.

§10. And this story so far from the above mentioned⁶⁹ book of the Alexandrian, be it <here>⁷⁰ in summary, in everyday style and boorish, but there in fuller detail and written in another, more professional way. As to that departure of Herakle(io)s from Persia the histories do not exactly agree⁷¹, but nevertheless, however, he came out of Persia either this or⁷² that way, it has this interpretation about that week, as it says here. Behold, however: the heretical Armenians are contentious⁷³ about

⁶⁵ The sentence is again an anacoluthon. For the (different?) circumstance of the oath see note 58.

⁶⁶ Lit. 'in mountains and caves'.

⁶⁷ The transcript gives another interpunction than in the first version: Τί ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν; ποιήσω. I do not believe that this is correct. Either my guess of note 59 is correct or one should perhaps read: Ὁ τι ἄρεστόν ἐστι ὑμῖν ποιήσω.

⁶⁸ 'the' is neutral, 'their' points to the responsibility of the Christians taken over from the emperor (an interpretation which I prefer).

⁶⁹ προγεγραμμένον.

⁷⁰ From ἐκεῖ δὲ (and there) in the second half of the sentence, one should understand a 'here' (= the last quoted) in the first part. Nikon apparently used two types of summaries from his source, a shorter vernacular one and a more detailed 'Atticistic' one. The transcript reads ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ for 'in summary', where one should read ἐνεπιτόμῳ (for which see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.). The adverb χωρικιστί 'boorish' is a neologism. Instead of ἄλλην one should expect an adjective contrasting with the ἰδιωτικῶς of the first part of the sentence.

⁷¹ 'departure': τὸ ἔβγα, for which see Kriaras, *LMEDG*, s.v., quoting the Assizes of Cyprus, Chron. Mor. etc., not in Trapp, where it also should be mentioned. Transcript: τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ (sic), prob. leg. τοῦ Ἡράκλῆ. 'Do not exactly agree': οὐκ ἰσάζουν ἴσα.

⁷² In transcript incorrectly εἶτε.

⁷³ Apparently with the Orthodox.

κρατήσαντες²³, ἠρώτησε τούτους ὁ βασιλεύς, πόθεν καὶ τίνες εἰσί. Οἱ δέ· «Δοῦλοι τῆς βασιλείας σου πένητες Ἑβραῖοι, οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλήμ,» ἀπεκρίναντο. Ὁ δὲ ὤμωσε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι αὐτούς, μὴ γνοὺς τὰ γενόμενα. Ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ μόλις εὔρεν ὀλίγους Χριστιανούς, ἐν ὄρεσιν καὶ σπηλαίοις κρυπτομένους. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς ἐρωτώμενος αὐτούς, εἰ ἄλλοι οὐκ εἰσὶ Χριστιανοί, ἔμαθε τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων πραχθέντα εἰς τοὺς Χριστιανούς. Γνοὺς οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν δόλον, λέγει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς· «<Ὁ> τι ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ποιήσω.» Οἱ δὲ ἠτήσαντο παθεῖν αὐτούς ὡς αὐτοὶ ἔπραξαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς τὸν ὄρκον φοβηθεὶς οὐκ ἤθελε τοῦτο πράξει. Οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοί, θέλοντες τούτου τυχεῖν, ἐτύπωσαν τὴν ἐβδομάδα νηστεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου παραβάσεως. Ἔως ὧδε περὶ τούτου.

§10. Ταῦτα δὲ ἕως ὧδε ἐκ τὸ προγεγραμμένον βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως, πλὴν ἐνεπιτόμως ἰδιωτικῶς τε καὶ χωρικιστί²⁴, ἐκεῖ δὲ πλατυτέρως καὶ ἄλλην καὶ τεχνικὴν τὴν ἔκδοσιν ἔχοντα. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ Ἡράκλη ἐκ Περσίδος οὐκ ἰσάζουν τὰ συγγράμματα ἴσα, ἀλλ' ὅμως εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε οὕτως, ὡς κὰν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ Περσίδος, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐβδομάδα, καθὼς ὧδε λέγει. Σκόπει δέ, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο φιλονεικοῦν οἱ αἰρετικοὶ Ἀρμένιοι λέγοντες, ὅτι «Τί ἐνεχόμεθα τὴν ἐβδομάδα ταύτην νηστεύειν διὰ βασιλέα τυπωθέντα καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα μόνον ἀρμόζοντα?» Οἱ ἡμέτεροι δὲ πατέρες οὐ διὰ τὸν Ἡράκλην²⁵, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι Μαρωνίτης ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀλλὰ προκαθάρσιμον τῶν ἀγίων νηστειῶν ἐπαρέδωκαν ταύτην, καθὼς τὰ συγγράμματα ἔχουσιν. Καὶ ὅμως τὰ στιχηρὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἐβδομάδος ταύτης προκάθαρσιν λέγουν καὶ ψάλλονται, καὶ οὐχὶ διὰ βασιλέα, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι λέγουσιν.

²³ I think that the anacoluthon (see the translation note 65) should be accepted, because of the perseveration of the -ες endings in the protasis. Otherwise one has to start a new sentence with Καὶ μετὰ δόλου and to read κρατήσαντας in accordance with τούτους.

²⁴ Beneševič χωρικῶς ἐστι (MS στῆ), Hannick χωρικιστί.

²⁵ Again Ἡρακλῆν, but see note 15.

this question, saying: 'Why should we be bound to fast during this week, which was instituted because of an emperor and thus only valid in Jerusalem?' Our fathers, however, did not establish the tradition of this week because of Herakle(io)s⁷⁴ (who moreover died a Maronite!⁷⁵), but as a purification preceeding holy Lent, just as is told in the historical works. And in the same way the stichera and the whole liturgy of this week speak about previous purification and sing about it, but not because of an emperor as is said by these heretical Armenians.

§11. No, as to this week, on the contrary⁷⁶, weed was sown by the devil, as the rule of the holy Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople⁷⁷, makes clear. For, as I told you, things from hearsay I do never hand down in writing (forgive me) neither in these matters nor, certainly not, in matters of faith⁷⁸, but also written evidence <I mention> only carefully and timidly, or even not at all because of the risk, as I absolutely do not dare to make investigations into the faith, boorish and illiterate as I am, and I possibly do not know what these things are⁷⁹, and the less so because I am weak in my soul, and for this kind of people⁸⁰ it is out of the question to investigate these things. However, for the sake of my love of Christ and of you I have written down all the written evidences which I found, just as you asked and pressed me to do. But on the other hand, whatever I heard from hearsay — I told you — nothing further!⁸¹ Now, about the 'cheese-eating' week, there is, as I said already, a rule⁸² of the holy Nikephoros of Constantinople, rule four, which runs as follows: 'The monks have to fast on Wednesday of "cheese-eating" and on Friday, but after the dismissal of the Mass of the Presanctified⁸³ they can eat cheese <and eggs>⁸⁴, wherever they are.' And this rule suspends the doctrine of Jacob and the heresy of the Tetradites⁸⁵. Thus far here.

⁷⁴ Again Ἡρακλῆς, read Ἡράκλης.

⁷⁵ Heraclius propagated the (in the eyes of the Orthodox heretical) doctrine of Monotheletism, as a result of which he was identified with the Maronites.

⁷⁶ For ἀπεναντίας see Lampe s.v. What is meant is 'in contrast to the story of the Emperor Heraclius'.

⁷⁷ 9758-†828, patriarch 806-815. See *Tusculum-Lexikon*: 'Die Frage der Echtheit der unter N's Namen überlieferten Kanones ist noch offen.'

⁷⁸ Τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀκοῆς, καθὼς καὶ εἶπά σε, συγχώρεσόν με, ἐγγράφως οὐ παραδίδω τέως εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ τῆς πίστεως, ... The sentence has many 'modernisms': εἶπα, 2x σε instead of σοι, συγχώρεσον instead of συγχώρησον. I understand οὐ ... τέως as 'never'. Nikon's use of τέως is in general rather unsteady.

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§11. Εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἀπεναντίας ἐνέρριψεν ζιζάνια ὁ διάβολος, καθὼς ὁ κανὼν τοῦ ἁγίου Νικηφόρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαγορεύει· τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀκοῆς, καθὼς καὶ εἶπά σε, συγχώρεσόν με, ἐγγράφως οὐ παραδίδω τέως εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐγγράφως μετὰ ἀκριβείας καὶ φόβου ἢ οὐδὲ ὄλως διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, ὅτι χωρικὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης ὢν περὶ πίστεως οὐκ ἀποτολμῶ ἐρευνᾶν, οὐδὲ οἶδα τὸ τί εἶν²⁶ τοῦτα²⁷, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ ἀσθενὴς κατὰ ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀνάρμοστόν ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρευνᾶν. Ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην σου, καθὼς καὶ ἐδεήθης καὶ ἐπέταξές με, εἴ τι καὶ ἐνέτυχα ἐγγράφως, ἔγραψα. Καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς εἴ τι καὶ ἤκουσα, εἶπά σε· πλεῖον οὐδέν. Τέως περὶ τῆς ἑβδομάδος τῆς τυρινῆς, καθὼς καὶ προεἶπα, ἐνὶ κανὼν τοῦ ἁγίου // Νικοφόρου Κωνσταντινου-πόλεως, κανὼν δ', λέγων οὕτως, ὅτι «Δεῖ νηστεύειν τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῇ τετράδι τῆς τυροφάγου καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν προηγιασμένων ἀπόλυσιν ἐσθίειν τυρόν²⁸, ὅπου ἂν εὐρεθῶσιν.» Ἀνατρέπει δὲ οὗτος ὁ κανὼν τοῦ Ἰακώβου τὸ δόγμα καὶ τὴν τῶν Τετραδιτῶν αἴρεσιν. Καὶ ὧδε μὲν οὕτως.

²⁶ Benešević ἦν.

²⁷ Thus both in Beneshevitch and Hannick (and so in MS). Nevertheless I conjecture that one should write τοῦτο.

²⁸ Hannick in his transcript added <καὶ ὡά>, but see translation note 84.

§12. Similarly he (= Nikephoros) permits in the same rules about the great Lent that monks who are ill eat fish, only they, others not. And about the Annunciation he says: 'If (the feast of) the Annunciation falls on White Thursday or on Good Friday one should share⁸⁶ in wine, oil and fish(es).'

§13. Now, my spiritual brother, one of your questions has been answered⁸⁷. In the same way I was orally informed also about other questions round the Tetradites. But at some moment I found⁸⁸ — for there are many opinions based on ignorance — some little written information, namely that they in their creed confess a tetrad, no trinity. We confess a consubstantial trinity, but they add⁸⁹ to this (an element):

⁷⁹ οὐδὲ οἶδα τὸ τί εἶν τοῦτα. Striking are εἶν = ἐστί (Benešević wrote ἦν, but probably incorrectly) and τοῦτα instead of ταῦτα, see the text, note 27. But also syntactically the sentence is rather awkward. My interpretation is that the clause with οὐδὲ designates a second risk, namely the possibility of not being able to give a correct interpretation (of a theological problem).

⁸⁰ Namely, people who are weak in the soul.

⁸¹ Here again Nikon is not very clear in my opinion. Is εἰπά σε meaning: 'as I told you "privately"', or is he consequent and saying (colloquially): 'from hearsay I do not mention anything — as I said to you — and stop it (asking me).'? I chose the second option.

⁸² ἔνι κανών, with the 'medieval' ἔνι = ἐστί = Modern Greek εἶναι.

⁸³ Mostly at 3 p.m.

⁸⁴ Addition in Hannick's transcript, based on the Slavonic translation? The words are, however, lacking in the text of Nicephorus, *Canons 33* (λγ'). ed. Rhalles and Potles, IV, p. 430.

⁸⁵ Apparently a critical hint to the Jacobites (followers of Jacob Barādai †578, founder of the Syriac Monophysite church) and to the Tetradites (followers of the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, Damian (578-605), who postulated four manifestations (hypostases) of God, the three persons separately and the one in common).

⁸⁶ χρή μετασχεῖν. It seems probable that this is a general rule. οἶνοι in the transcript must be οἶνου. The text of Nicephorus (Rhalles and Potles, IV, p. 427) runs as follows: Ἐὰν φθάσῃ ὁ Εὐαγγελισμὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ Πέμπτῃ ἢ τῇ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνομεν οἶνου τηνικαῦτα μεταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἰχθύων ('If Annunciation falls on White Thursday or on Good Friday we do not sin by taking then wine or fish(es)').

⁸⁷ ἡ μία σου αἰτησις ἀπεδόθη (sic) = ἀπεδόθη. About this kind of false vephelkystikon, see Jannaris, *App.* III, §19.

⁸⁸ I found: ἡῦρα.

⁸⁹ Prof. Hannick corrected προσθήτους (MS Benešević), into προσθήτουςιν. The form, if correct, forms a kind of 'missing link' between the classical τίθημι and the modern θέτω. About this evolution see e.g. Chatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, I, 307ff. Jannaris §959 mentions a hypothetical *θίτω between τίθω and θέτω. Προσθήτουςιν (but write: προσθήτουςιν) may represent this hypothetical form suggested by Jannaris. Otherwise one should write προσθέτουςιν. Nevertheless I write προστίθουσιν, combining Hannick's suggestion with the consideration that the corruption is also based on a false metathesis τίθ(η) > θητ-. Τίθω (or even τίθῶ) is the usual successor of classical τίθημι.

§12. Ὅμοίως εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κανόνας περὶ τὴν μεγάλην τεσσαρακοστὴν τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας μοναχοὺς ἐπιτρέπει μόνους ἐσθίειν ὄψαριν, ἄλλους ὄχι. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ λέγει ὅτι «Ἐὰν φθάσῃ ὁ Εὐαγγελισμὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ πέμπτῃ²⁹ ἢ τῇ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ, χρὴ μετασχεῖν οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ ἰχθύων.»

§13. Ἄρτι, πνευματικὲ ἀδελφέ μου, ἡ μία σου αἴτησις ἀπεδόθη. Καὶ ὅμως περὶ τῶν Τετραδιτῶν τούτων καὶ ἕτερα ἀπὸ στόματος ἐδιδάχθη, ἀλλὰ τέως διὰ τὰς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ὑπονοίας μικρὸν ὅμως καὶ ἐγγράφως ἠῦρα, ὅτι εἰς τὰ τῆς πίστεως τετράδα ὁμολογοῦν, οὐ τριάδα. Ἡμεῖς μὲν τριάδα ὁμοούσιον ὁμολογοῦμεν, οὗτοι δὲ προστίθουσ<ιν>³⁰ εἰς τὸ τετράδα. Καὶ τέως μικρὸν τὴν εἶδησιν εἶπα μόνον καὶ τοῦτο ἠῦρα, ἵνα μὴ νομίση τίς πονεῖν ὅτι εἰς πρᾶξιν ἐστίν (οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει), ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν πίστιν³¹ ἔχει τὸ σφάλμα. Καὶ ἐγώ, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα, τὰ ἀπὸ στόματος ἀκούω πάλιν ἀπὸ στόματος λέγω, ὅταν μᾶλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔχη εὐλογον ἀφορμὴν.

²⁹ In MS ε'.

³⁰ See the translation note 89.

³¹ πίστην Benešević, τὴν πίστην Hannick.

tetrad. So, now I have in short spoken out only this information which I found here⁹⁰, in order to avoid that someone whosoever⁹¹ would think that the error is a question of practice — for it isn't — no, it is a question of faith. As to me, just as I said before, what I hear from hearsay I only talk about by word of mouth, when there is a more or less reasonable inducement⁹².

§14. On our most holy patriarchs I shall here again, as you asked me, my spiritual brother, add what I found in writing here shortly⁹³, because I have already written at greater length about all these matters in my letter to our spiritual brother, Reverend John, and other similar subjects were very precisely joined to it. Here we shall now start through the grace of God the necessary points you asked me about⁹⁴.

§15. In a historical book, that is to say the *Taktikon*⁹⁵, is written: 'After Jerusalem was surrendered to and occupied by the Saracens in the days of the very holy Patriarch Sophronios, no one after his passing away dared or was allowed to be patriarch there for more than twenty years.'⁹⁶ And at Antioch, since the days of the Emperor Heraclius⁹⁷, after the Saracens had taken it, forty years elapsed before a patriarch came onto the throne of Antioch⁹⁸ because of the obstruction by the Saracens, but the successive patriarchs lived in Constantinople, and after the death

⁹⁰ Καὶ τέως μικρὸν τὴν εἶδησιν εἶπα μόνον καὶ τοῦτο ἡῦρα: I consider the end of the sentence as a parataxis instead of a hypotaxis. Both εἶπα and ἡῦρα are 'modernized' aorists.

⁹¹ Again τίς πον.

⁹² ὅταν μᾶλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔχη εὐλογον ἀφορμήν. I think that μᾶλλον καὶ οὐκ means 'more or less', but I was not able to find a parallel of this connection. Ἔχει ... ἀφορμήν = ἀφορμή ἐστι.

⁹³ τὰ ἡῦρα ... ἐν ἐπιτόμως. Nikon regularly uses relative pronouns with τ (here = ἄ). For ἐν ἐπιτόμως, write ἐνεπιτόμως, see note 70.

⁹⁴ Text: Τέως ὧδε τὰ ἄπερ ἐζήτησας ἀναγκαῖα ἀρξόμεθα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁹⁵ ἦτοι Τακτικόν. Thus both Benešević and Hannick. One should read either Τακτικῶ or Τακτικῶν. In case of the latter solution, Τακτικῶν ('of military tactics') contrasts ἱστορικῶ: 'in a book on history or better said on tactics'. Which 'Taktikon' or 'Tactica' is referred to, is unclear. In Leo's *Tactica* I did not find a relevant passage.

⁹⁶ Text: ἕως ἐπέκεινα πλείους κ' χρόνους. For ἕως ἐπέκεινα compare expressions such as ἕως ὅτε, ἕως τότε etc., see LSJ s.v. ἕως 6.

⁹⁷ Here correctly Ἡρακλείου.

⁹⁸ The sentence is a harsh anacoluthon. For the construction χρόνους ποιεῖν (+ partic.), see Lampe s.v. ποιέω D.

§14. Ὡδε πάλιν περὶ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἡμῶν πατριαρχῶν, καθὼς ἠτήσω, πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφέ, τὰ ἡῦρα ἐγγράφως ὧδε προσθήσω ἐνεπιτόμως, διὰ τὸ καὶ πλατυτέως εἰς τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔγραψα τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, καὶ ἕτερα ὅμοια καθηρμόσθησαν ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ. Τέως ὧδε τὰ ἄπερ ἐζήτησας ἀναγκαῖα ἀρξόμεθα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

§15. Γέγραπται ἐν ἱστορικῷ βιβλίῳ ἦτοι Τακτικῶν^{31a}, ὅτι «Ἐφοῦ παρεδόθησαν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐκρατήθησαν παρὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Σωφρονίου, μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησέν τις ἢ παρεχωρήθη ἐκεῖ πατριάρχης γενέσθαι ἕως ἐπέκεινα πλείους εἴκοσι³² χρόνους. Ἡ δὲ Ἀντιόχεια³³ ἀπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας Ἡρακλείου βασιλεως, μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι Σαρακηνοῦς ὁ θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας τεσσεράκοντα³⁴ χρόνους ποιήσας μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐν αὐτῇ πατριάρχης κωλύοντων τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, ἀλλὰ πατριάρχαι Ἀντιοχείας κατὰ διαδοχὴν γενόμενοι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διῆγον³⁵, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι τὸν ἕνα ἕτερος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει, ἕως τοῦ τρίτου [ἕως τοῦ τρίτου]³⁶ αὐτόθι διατρίβοντες. Καὶ ὅμως γεγόνασιν ἐκ τούτων αἰρετικοί.

^{31a} See the translation note 95.

³² In MS κ'.

³³ See the translation note 98.

³⁴ In MS μ'.

³⁵ διῆγον Benešević, διῆγουν Hannick (probably writing error).

³⁶ This dittography in both Benešević and Hannick, but see the translation note 99.

of one, another was appointed and until the third [until this third] they remained at the same place⁹⁹. Nevertheless, there came heretics from them.

§16. After these forty years the patriarchs went away and by order of the Saracens they ordained that patriarchs should come from the Christian regions of Syria, which was done indeed, until the Romans (Byzantines) conquered these lands¹⁰⁰. And after the conquest by the Romans (Byzantines) the first to be patriarch of Antioch was the late Theodoros, who was the abbot of the Antonios Monastery in the theme of Armenia-kon. The Emperor John Tzimiskes gave him a chrysobul and validated all the *typika* (= monastic rules)¹⁰¹. Likewise he brought all the churches and monasteries in and around Antioch under the jurisdiction of the patriarch, following the divine rules and the political laws from before him, as they all confirm themselves. Moreover the emperor allotted to the patriarchs of Antioch in office as their residence the Monastery of the most holy Mother of God of the Hodegi¹⁰² in Constantinople. And the most holy patriarch of Constantinople composed a written instruction for the liturgy and for the ordaining¹⁰³ of the respective patriarchs of Antioch in all his priories both in the capital and in its territory, wherever is talk of a priory¹⁰⁴, with the obligation to mention his name¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁹ ἐγγέγονει ἕως τοῦ τρίτου, ἕως τοῦ τρίτου αὐτόθι διατρίβοντες. Thus the reading of the text. I suppose that the repetition of the words ἕως τοῦ τρίτου is a copying mistake and should be deleted.

¹⁰⁰ In 962 Aleppo was conquered by Nikephoros Phokas, the grip on Syria and surroundings was strengthened ten years later by John Tzimiskes. On the campaigns of Tzimiskes in the Middle East, see Louis Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, pp. 205-6. On the preoccupations of John Tzimiskes with ecclesiastical matters and the ordaining of Theodoros of Coloneia, patriarch of Antioch, by Polyeuktos, patriarch of Constantinople, see Bréhier, *ibid.* p. 201.

¹⁰¹ Text: τὰ τετυπωμένα, cp. Lampe s.v. τυπόω F.

¹⁰² τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου τῶν Ὁδηγῶν. For ὀδηγός 'guardian angel' see Lampe s.v.

¹⁰³ προτρεπτικὸν ἔγγραφον τοῦ λειτουργεῖν καὶ χειροτονεῖν τοὺς κατὰ καιρὸν πατριάρχας Ἀντιοχείας.

¹⁰⁴ ἔνθα ἂν καὶ μετόχιον ἐπιφέρεται. It is not very clear what is meant with this addition. Probably: there where a community of monks is titled 'priory'. For μετόχιον = priory, see Sophocles Lexikon, s.v.

¹⁰⁵ αὐτοῦ: probably τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν πατριάρχου, to be mentioned in the liturgies.

221r §16. Καὶ μετὰ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα³⁷ χρόνους ἐκλείποντες³⁸ οἱ πατριάρχαι προστάξει τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν Συρίας χριστιανῶν προσέταξαν γίνεσθαι πατριάρχας, ὡς καὶ ἐγένοντο, ἕως οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι³⁹ τὰς χώρας ἐκράτησαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ κρατῆσαι Ῥωμαίους // πρῶτος πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας ὁ μακαρίτης ἐγένετο Θεόδωρος, ἡγούμενος ὦν τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν. Τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ὁ Τζιμισχῆς χρυσοβούλλιον δέδωκεν καὶ ἐκύρωσεν πάντα τὰ τετυπωμένα. Ὅμοίως καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πέριξ μοναστηρίοις τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ πατριάρχου πεποίηκεν, ἀκολουθῶν τοὺς θείους κανόνας καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολιτικοὺς νόμους, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες διαγορεύουσιν. Προσεκύρωσεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς κατὰ καιρὸν πατριάρχαις Ἀντιοχείας ἐνδιαίτημα τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονὴν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν Ὁδηγῶν. Καὶ ἐποίησεν Πολύευκτος ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προτρεπτικὸν ἔγγραφον τοῦ λειτουργεῖν καὶ χειροτονεῖν τοὺς κατὰ καιρὸν πατριάρχας Ἀντιοχείας ἐν τοῖς μετοχίοις αὐτοῦ, ἐν τε τῇ βασιλευούσῃ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τῆς ἐνορίας αὐτῆς, ἐνθα ἂν καὶ μετόχιον ἐπιφέρεται, καὶ ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ὀνομασίαν αὐτοῦ.

³⁷ In MS μ'.

³⁸ Legendum ἐκλιπόντες?

³⁹ Perhaps one should read: ἕως οὗ <οἱ> Ῥωμαῖοι.

§17. After the resignation of Agapios as patriarch of Antioch, the late John was put forward, but Agapios regretted his resignation, and the late John, being afraid, did not insist on coming to his throne and on being installed into his pontificate by the metropolitans, but hastily handed over the privilege (=see) of Antioch. From that time on it was decreed that the ordaining should be done by the patriarch of Constantinople. Under the late patriarch of Antioch the Reverend Peter, the deacon Christodoulos of the very holy church of Antioch, crowned with holiness¹⁰⁶, was during his visit to Constantinople honoured by the very holy patriarch Michael with the title of 'chamberlain'¹⁰⁷. And with this honour given by the oecumenical patriarch he came to Antioch, but the Reverend Petrus refused to accept this intrusion into the rights of his church: he sent him away and tore up the letter of recommendation. And to the patriarch¹⁰⁸ he wrote austere letters, pointing once more to the legal status, that the apostolic throne of Antioch is not under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, and further that the patriarch of Constantinople illegally had the seal through the very holy John, who gave up the privileges of the church of Antioch¹⁰⁹. And the patriarch of Constantinople wrote back and asked forgiveness: the seal was used by the secretary against his intention. The patriarch (of Antioch) after this became¹¹⁰ reconciled with the deacon.

§18. All these things are written in the aforementioned book¹¹¹. But the author shows also this: that the apostolic throne of Antioch reached from the sea of Constantinople to the whole of Anatolia, and because of this¹¹² he is named 'patriarch of all Anatolia'. But in former days a part was separated for Constantinople. Then again, however, at the time of Severus of

¹⁰⁶ ὁ 'Ἀγιοστεφανίτης, or: 'from St Stephen Monastery' (?). Not in Trapp or any other Lexicon.

¹⁰⁷ κουβουκλήσιος. See Trapp, *LBG* s.v. κουβουκλείσιος; the spelling with -η also occurs in a number of texts (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁸ Here again the accusative instead of the dative.

¹⁰⁹ Between ἁγιωτάτου and τὰ the insertion of <δς> is necessary.

¹¹⁰ Συμπαθέω is construed here with the accusative, where the dative would be regular. I suppose that the meaning here is 'be reconciled' rather than 'sympathise with'.

¹¹¹ See §15 and note 95.

¹¹² ἔνεκεν τοῦτο! In §19, however, δώρων ἔνεκα.

§17. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀγάπιος πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας παραιτησάμενος, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης προβάλλεται ὁ μακαρίτης. Μεταμεληθεῖς δὲ ὁ Ἀγάπιος τὴν παραίτησιν, καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης φοβηθεῖς οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ μητροπολιτῶν τελειωθῆναι τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σπουδὴν προέδωκον τὸ προνόμιον Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἐτυπώθη χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας κυροῦ Πέτρου Χριστόδουλος διάκονος τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας, ὁ Ἀγιοστεφανίτης, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀπελθὼν κουβουκλήσιος ἐτιμήθη ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου. Καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐλθὼν ὡς τιμηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου, ὁ δὲ κύρις Πέτρος, μὴ καταδεξάμενος προδοῦναι τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ δίκαια, τὸν διάκονα ἀπεδίωξεν καὶ τὴν κέλευσιν διέρρηξεν. Τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφὰς, ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ δίκαιον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα παράνομον ἔχει ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διὰ σπουδῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου, <ὄς>⁴⁰ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας προνόμια ἔδωκε. Καὶ ἀντέγραψεν ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως συγγνώμην αἰτῶν, ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χαρτοφύλακος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ σιγίλλιον, καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν διάκονον συνεπάθησεν.

221v §18. Ταῦτα πάντα εἰς τὸ προλεχθὲν βιβλίον οὕτως γράφουν. Ἀποδεικνύει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο <ὄ> ἐκεῖ γράφων, ὅτι ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκράτει ἕως πάσης Ἀνατολῆς. Καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦτο «πάσης Ἀνατολῆς» ὀνομάζεται «πατριάρχης». Ἐπὶ δὲ⁴¹ τῶν πρώην ἡμερῶν ἀπεκόπη μέρος // πρὸς Κωνσταντινούπολιν. Μετέπειτα δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ Σεβήρου Ἀντιοχείας, θέλων μὴ τοῦτον καθαιρεῖν⁴², προέδωκεν τὰ λοιπά. Ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖ μνημονεύουν εἰς τὸ προλεχθὲν βιβλίον.

⁴⁰ See the translation note 109.

⁴¹ Benešević ἐπειδὴ, Hannick Ἐπὶ δὲ.

⁴² See the translation note 113.

Antioch, because he did not wish to condemn him¹¹³, he forsook the rest. All this is mentioned there in the above-mentioned book.

§19. As to the order of the great (*or*: important) thrones, see Reverend John the Dipotatus, or somewhere else, where you will find¹¹⁴ the letters of Reverend Peter, patriarch of Antioch, and you will find a letter to the <archbishop> of Venice, or in the same (letters?) elsewhere. And there he states¹¹⁵ and shows that only the man (= bishop) of Antioch is named patriarch, all the others have each of them their own (*or*: special) name¹¹⁶. And the holy salve was in the beginning not consecrated elsewhere. In the history book of which I spoke earlier, it is written in the Acts¹¹⁷ of the holy Synod of Chalcedon: 'It was decided that the (holy) salve was to be consecrated everywhere; for it was consecrated first only by the <patriarch> of Antioch. But as it became known that it was given for gifts, it was decided¹¹⁸ that it should be consecrated by bishops no matter where. And the emperor, having graced the Synod of the six hundred and thirty fathers, let them go each to his own place.'¹¹⁹ This is written in the Acts of the Synod of Chalcedon, as we have said before.

§20. I bring to your attention to look at your love for God, lest the time come that the saying of the great Anthony is fulfilled, as it can be read, which says: 'The time is coming, when¹²⁰ people will be mad, and when they see someone who is not mad, they will stand up against him

¹¹³ The text has *καθαροῦν*, legendum *καθαρεῖν*. For the juridical meaning 'condemn', see LSJ s.v., II, 5. It is not very clear who is subject of the clause; is it the John of the previous chapter, is it Agaprios or is it the successor of Severus? Severus had to leave his throne in 518, because of his anti-Chalcedonian (rather than monophysite) views. He went into exile in Alexandria.

¹¹⁴ *εὐρησ*, conj. aor. with future meaning. In the following sentence *νὰ εὐρησ*.

¹¹⁵ *συσταίνει*, a striking neologism. On *σταίνω* < *ιστάνω*, see Jannaris §723, §900 etc., *στένω* / *σταίνω* Chatzidakis, *MNE* I, 310.

¹¹⁶ *οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰς ἕκαστος τὴν ἰδίαν προσωνυμίαν κέκτηται*, *constructio ad synesin*.

¹¹⁷ *πρακταῖα* (sic), read: *πρακτέα* 'deeds', for which meaning see Lampe s.v. The same at the end of this chapter.

¹¹⁸ *Μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι ... ἐτυπώθη*, again a harsh anacoluthon. In canon 2 and 3 of the Synod of Chalcedon, commercializing of ecclesiastical offices and services is strictly prohibited. Nikon's quotation about the *μύρον* I did not find. In the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, VI, 2, col. 2789 s.v. *Huile*, it is observed that the consecration of holy oil was already given in the early days into the hands of the bishops, but the patriarchs of Alexandria should have claimed the privilege and the consecration should have taken place only on Good Friday.

¹¹⁹ Practically the same wording in Theophanes Confessor, 106, 12-13.

¹²⁰ *ἵνα*, here not local, but (strikingly) temporal.

§19. Περί δὲ τὴν τάξιν τῶν μεγάλων θρόνων ἶδε τὸν κύριν Ἰωάννην τὸν Διποτάτον⁴³, εἴτε ἀλλαχοῦ, ὅπου εὑρη⁴⁴ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ κυροῦ Πέτρου τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ νὰ εὑρη⁴⁵ ἐπιστολὴν εἰς τὸν Βενετίας, εἴτε εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀλλαχοῦ. Καὶ ἐκεῖ συσταίνει καὶ ἀποδεικνύει τὸν Ἀντιοχείας μόνον ὄντα καὶ λεγόμενον πατριάρχην, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰς ἕκαστος τὴν ἰδίαν προσωνομίαν κέκτηται. Καὶ τὸ θεῖον μύρον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλη οὐκ ἠγιαζέτο. Γράφει δὲ εἰς ὅπερ προεῖπα ἄνωθεν βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν εἰς πρακτέα⁴⁵ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀγίας συνόδου, ὅτι «Ἐτυπώθη δὲ τὸ μύρον πανταχοῦ ἀγιαζέσθαι.» Πρῶτον γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας μόνου ἠγιαζέτο. Μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι δώρων ἕνεκα δίδοται, ἐτυπώθη παντῆ⁴⁶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀγιαζέσθαι. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς φιλοφρονήσας τὴν σύνοδον τῶν ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα⁴⁷ πατέρων ἀπέλυσεν ἕκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια. Ταῦτα εἰς πρακτέα⁴⁸ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου γράφουν, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπαμεν.

§20. Τοῦτο δὲ ὑπομνήζω^{48a} τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν σας ἀγάπην σκοπῆσαι, μήπως ἔφθασεν καιρὸς πληροῦσθαι τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντωνίου ῥητόν, καθὼς καὶ ἀναγινώσκειται, τὸ λέγον, ὅτι «Ἔρχεται καιρὸς, ἵνα οἱ ἄνθρωποι μανῶσιν καὶ ἐπὶ ἰδῶσιν τινα μὴ μαινόμενον ἐπαναστήσονται αὐτόν, λέγοντες ὅτι «Σὺ μαίνει διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὁμοῖος αὐτοῖς.» Ἐγὼ ὁμως, ὡς καὶ νομίζω, τέως κατὰ προαίρεσιν τῷ κατὰ Θεὸν⁴⁹ ζήλω κινούμενος καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς δώσει ἰσχὺν διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν τὴν τοῦ πλησίον, εἴ τινα ἔρμηνειαν ἐντύχω τῶν θείων γραφῶν, φανεροποιῶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιγινομένην πλάνην προφάσει τῶν θείων γραφῶν. Ἐνεκεν τοῦτο, ὅταν καὶ ἡμουν αὐτόθι, καθὼς γινώσκεις, ἔδειξά σε εἰς τὸν Πραξαπόστολον τὸ κεφάλαιον περὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων τὸν κλῆρον, καθὼς ἐκεῖ λέγει ὅτι «Ἔβαλον κλήρους». Καὶ οἶδας, πῶς τὸ ἔρμηνευσεν

⁴³ MS τοῦ διποτάτου. My correction. One may maintain the vernacular spelling Διποτάτον, but the acc. is required.

⁴⁴ See the translation note 114.

⁴⁵ See the translation note 117.

⁴⁶ Benešević παντί, Hannick παντῆ.

⁴⁷ MS χλ'.

⁴⁸ Perhaps better: <τὰ> πρακτέα.

^{48a} Ὑπομνήζω, a neologism, see Lampe s.v. θπομνίζω and κατηγοριάρης.

⁴⁹ Benešević θεῷ, probably printing error.

saying: “you are mad because you are not as they are!”¹²¹ — And so I, as I think, driven through my election by my zeal for God, and because of His love and also to the neighbour, when I read some interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, I make it clear because of the misunderstanding which came into being on account of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore¹²², when I was¹²³ there, as you know, I showed you the chapter in the Acts of the Apostles¹²⁴, on the lot of the Apostles, as is said there: ‘they cast lots’ And you know¹²⁵ how the holy Chrysostom this interpreted there, and what was the significance of that lot, and not as some erred because of their own desire (= interest?) and bear an illogical argument to witness, and by ignorance they give a false interpretation of Holy Scriptures and they make allotments and do these things which are forbidden by the Holy Scriptures in Christian tradition.

Beware us all, Lord, from¹²⁶ these and other, different errors, and free us from the net of Satan, by the intercession of the glorious Mother of God and all the Saints. Amen.

¹²¹ *Aprophthegmata Patrum*, 25 (Migne, LXV 84 C, *Vita Antonii*): Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος, ὅτι Ἔρχεται καιρὸς ἵνα οἱ ἄνθρωποι μανῶσι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἰδωσί τινα μὴ μαινόμενον, ἐπαναστήσονται αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι Σὺ μαίνη διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιον αὐτοῖς.

¹²² Ἔνεκεν τοῦτο, see note 112.

¹²³ ἡμουν ‘modern’ for ἡμην.

¹²⁴ Act. Apost. 1:26.

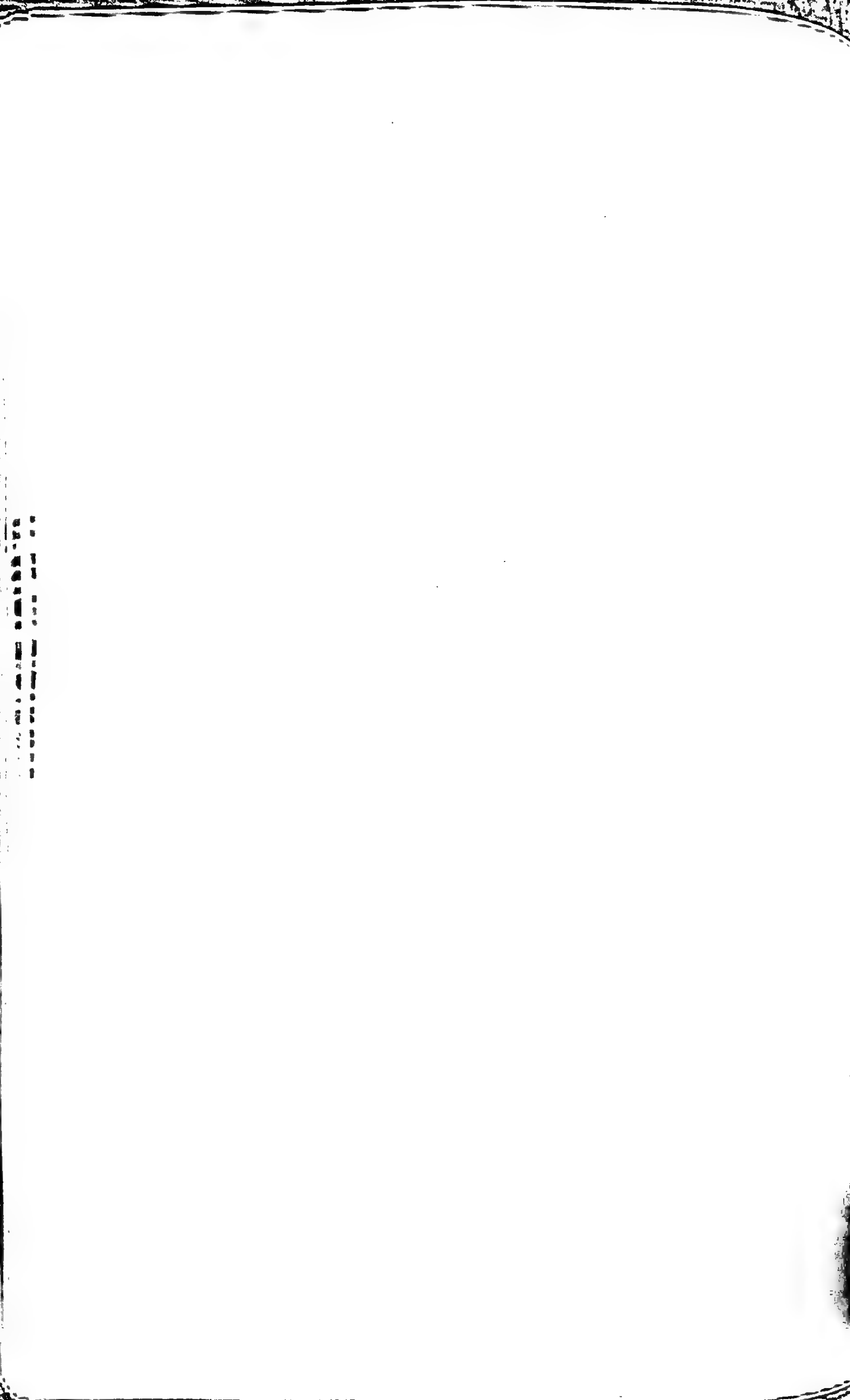
¹²⁵ For οἶδας = οἶσθα, see Jannaris §970. The passage in John Chrysostom, to which Nikon here refers, probably is *Homilia in Act. Apost.* III 60,36: καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν in the situation in which the Apostles elect a new colleague in succession of Judas Iscariot. They have to cast lots by way of an ordeal of God, because they had not yet received the Holy Spirit. The choice of Matthias is seen as his election by God. See also 60,27: Ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν, φησί, σὺν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης. Κλῆρον αὐτὸν πανταχοῦ καλεῖ, δεικνὺς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος τὸ πᾶν ὄν καὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς, καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκων αὐτοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν, [27] ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐκκληρώσατο,.... (‘He says ‘and he was numbered with us and he received the lot of this ministry’. He calls this everywhere ‘lot’, showing that this all is grace and election of God, and recalling to memory these men of old, that it was God who appointed him (i.e. Matthias)...’). Nikon makes this comparison to indicate his own being elected to follow his vocation of being a teacher. His critical remarks in the following passage, culminating in the words κλήρους ποιοῦσιν (‘they create lots’), are meant to sound a warning against allotting ecclesiastical posts to ‘non-elected’ people. With this argument Nikon returns to the first subject of this logoi, his refusal to be a priest.

¹²⁶ ἐκ + acc., but in the second part of the sentence regularly + gen.subject of ἀπετείχισεν.

ἐκεῖ ὁ θεῖος Χρυσόστομος καὶ πῶς ἦτον ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ κλήρου ἐκείνου, καὶ οὐχ ὡς πλανῶνται τινες⁵⁰ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ φέρουσιν παράλογον ἀφορμὴν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, καὶ ἀγνώστως τὴν θεῖαν παρερμηνεύουσιν γραφὴν, καὶ κλήρους ποιοῦσιν, καὶ πράττουσιν τὰ ἄπερ εἰσὶν ἀπηγορευμένα παρὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν παραδόσεως.

Ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, πάντας ἐκ τὰς τοιαύτας καὶ ἐτέρας διαφόρους πλάνας, καὶ ἐξελοῦ ἐκ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ Σατανᾶ πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπερενδόξου Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν.

⁵⁰ Benešenič πλανῶντες τινές, Hannick πλανῶνται τινες.



THE GROWTH OF THE LATIN CHURCH OF ANTIOCH AND THE RECRUITMENT OF ITS CLERGY

BERNARD HAMILTON*

Cencius, treasurer of the Roman church, when drawing up the *Liber Censuum* in 1192, recorded: 'In the patriarchate of Antioch there are 153 cathedral churches', and he noted that this was the number of the miraculous draught of fishes reported by St John¹. Control of the church of Antioch, founded by St Peter and the principal Christian church in Asia, was certainly a source of pride to the Western church in the twelfth century. The Latin clergy there inherited a list of the provinces and dioceses from their Orthodox predecessors, dating from the time of Justinian, which they translated into Latin, and even into Old French, and this survives in many versions, including some manuscripts of William of Tyre².

Although before the First Crusade Latin priests had served in the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire as chaplains to companies of Western soldiers in the imperial armies, no Latin bishops had ever been appointed in the Eastern patriarchates³. Bishop Adhémar restored the Orthodox Patriarch John IV to power when Antioch was captured in 1098, and recognized his authority over Latins as well as Greeks, but this settlement was soon set aside. Indeed, it is difficult to see how it could have been maintained after 1100 when war broke out between the Franks and the Byzantine Empire. John IV was driven from the city and

* Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

- Asbridge, *Antioch* = T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000).

¹ John 21:11; *Le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine*, ed. P. Fabre, L. Duchesne and G. Mollat, 3 vols (Paris, 1910-52), i, p. 239.

² *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin, série géographique, 1 (Geneva, 1879), pp. 331-42; *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la terre sainte rédigés en français aux xie, xiie et xiiiè siècles*, ed. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *ibid.*, 3 (1882), pp. 15-9; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xiv, 12, pp. 645-6.

³ J-C. Cheynet, 'L'implantation des Latins en Asie Mineure avant la Première Croisade', in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier, Publications de la Sorbonne, Série Byzantina Sorbonensia, 19 (Paris, 2002), pp. 115-24.

later abdicated and thereafter, although the Byzantines sometimes successfully contested this, the patriarchs of Antioch were usually Latins⁴. Michael the Syrian reports that all the Orthodox bishops in the lands of the patriarchate which came under Latin rule were driven from their sees⁵. Although it is not certain how many of them were in office in 1100, the cathedrals and endowments of those who were passed into Latin hands. Orthodox sees tended to be small by Western standards and the Franks amalgamated some of them because they wanted bishops to have more power in secular as well as ecclesiastical affairs⁶.

From the start, military and administrative considerations dictated the formation of a Latin hierarchy more than Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition. In September 1098 Count Raymond IV of Toulouse nominated one of his chaplains, Peter of Narbonne, as bishop of Albara, a city he had just captured. Peter was consecrated by the Orthodox patriarch, but his appointment was made for secular reasons. Albara had not been an Orthodox see, but Raymond granted the bishop half the city and its territory, to govern on the count's behalf⁷. When Bohemond of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa went to Jerusalem to fulfil their crusading vows at Christmas 1099, they took four priests with them, who were consecrated bishops by the new Latin patriarch, Daimbert of Pisa, a clear signal that John IV's position at Antioch was no longer tenable. Baldwin's candidate, Benedict, was appointed archbishop of Edessa and became head of the Catholic establishment in the new county. Two of Bohemond's candidates were presented to Tarsus and Mamistra in Cilicia. Tarsus had been an Orthodox metropolitan see, but Mamistra had been an archbishopric with no suffragans in Orthodox times, a see of no great importance. These appointments were clearly political: Bohemond wished to be represented in Cilicia, which was vulnerable to Byzantine attack, by men whom he trusted⁸.

⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, v, 1, p. 433. William of Tyre's attempt to portray John IV's departure from Antioch as voluntary is probably a piece of special pleading, William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, vi, 23, p. 340; J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), p. 147.

⁵ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, xv, 9, iii, p. 191.

⁶ 'Multae etiam aliae sunt civitates in terra promissionis quae licet ante tempora Latinorum proprios haberent episcopos Surianorum et Graecorum, Latini tamen propter multitudinem et paupertatem eorum, ne dignitas episcopalis vilipenderetur, plures ecclesias cathedrales et civitates uni cathedrali subiecerunt', Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, p. 98.

⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, p. 92; *Gesta Francorum*, p. 75; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, vii, 8, p. 352.

⁸ Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, ch. 140, p. 704, dates this, wrongly, to Easter 1100. H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la Première Croisade (1094-1100)* (Paris, 1902), pp. 273-4, no. 439.

His third candidate, Bernard of Valence, formerly chaplain to Bishop Adhémar, was consecrated bishop of Artah, which had not been a diocese at all in Orthodox times, but which was of considerable strategic importance because it guarded the approach roads to Antioch from Aleppo⁹.

Within a few months of his consecration, Bernard was translated to Antioch as Latin patriarch and a new bishop of Artah was enthroned¹⁰. The ecclesiastical development of the patriarchate continued to be dictated primarily by strategic and administrative considerations during Bernard's long reign. The city of Marash, which commanded the approach roads to Antioch from the north, was captured by the Franks in 1104. A Latin bishop was appointed there perhaps soon after 1108 when Tancred invested his kinsman, Richard of Salerno, with the lordship of the city¹¹. The diocese was certainly established before 1114, when the Latin bishop and all his clergy were killed in an earthquake¹².

Raymond IV of Toulouse died in 1105 while besieging Tripoli and may have designated a bishop for the city¹³. Certainly Bishop Albert was enthroned there soon after Tripoli fell in 1109¹⁴. It was obviously essential to appoint a head of the Catholic establishment in the new county of Tripoli, but this raised a difficult problem of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In Orthodox times Tripoli had formed part of the province of Tyre, which extended from Acre to Tortosa and ranked as the first metropolitan see of Antioch. In the period of Frankish rule this arrangement was controversial because the rulers of Jerusalem wanted all the churches in their kingdom to be subject to the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. Although the patriarchs of Antioch contested this, the kings won the argument and Tyre, together with its suffragans at Beirut, Sidon and Acre, remained under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem, while the bishops of the county of Tripoli were made directly subordinate to the patriarchs of Antioch. It was this controversy which almost certainly accounts for the delay in the appointment of Latin bishops at Tortosa, where the first bishop is

⁹ 'Artasiensem episcopum Bernardum nomine ... qui in eadem expeditione dominum Podiensem episcopum sequutus fuerat capellanus eius', William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, VI, 23, p. 340; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 134.

¹⁰ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, VI, 23, p. 340. The name of Bernard's successor is not known.

¹¹ Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 162.

¹² Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, I, I, p. 83 (pp. 80-1).

¹³ 'Arbertus s. Evrardi abbas' was present at the siege of Tripoli early in 1105: *Les assises de Jérusalem*, RHC, Lois, II, pp. 479-80, no. 1; Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 208.

¹⁴ *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, p. 199, no. 86.

recorded in 1128, and at Jubail (Byblos), where no bishop is mentioned before 1138¹⁵.

The coastal region to the north of the diocese of Tortosa was not part of the province of Tyre. Politically it formed part of the principality of Antioch. A Frankish bishop was appointed at Jabala soon after it finally came under Frankish control in 1109¹⁶; but although the important port of Latakia was securely in Frankish control after 1108, no bishop is known to have been appointed there until the 1130s. This may reflect the paucity of records relating to Antioch in this period, but it is also possible that the see was founded by Raymond of Poitiers to check the ambitions of his mother-in-law, the dowager-princess Alice, because Latakia formed part of her dower lands¹⁷. The fortress of Rafaniyah was considered the key to the control of the county of Tripoli and when, in 1126, Count Pons captured it, he immediately appointed a bishop there¹⁸.

At some point a Latin hierarchy was established in western Edessa. Although the earliest evidence about this dates from the 1130s it was arguably set up before then, because the county of Edessa was too large for a single bishop to administer. Much of western Edessa rule had been controlled by Armenian lords in the early years of Frankish settlement¹⁹. Baldwin II, count of Edessa, annexed the principality of Dgha Vasil, centred on Kesoun, in 1115, and a Latin bishopric may have been established there at that time to represent the count. Our

¹⁵ J. G. Rowe, 'The Papacy and the Ecclesiastical Province of Tyre', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960-1), pp. 160-89. In 1128 Count Pons issued a privilege 'cum assensu ... Raimundi Tortosani episcopi', *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 82; Bishop Hugh of Jubail is first mentioned in a letter of Innocent II: 'Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande: Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius', ed. R. Hiestand, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, III, vol. 136 (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 145-6, no. 35.

¹⁶ Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 1, 5, pp. 97-106 (pp. 97-100).

¹⁷ For the politics of Raymond of Poitiers's reign, B. Hamilton, 'Ralph of Domfront, Patriarch of Antioch (1135-40)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 28 (1984), pp. 1-21. Alice was recorded as 'Laodicie principessa' in 1151: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 198; Bishop Gerard of Latakia is first mentioned as among those present at the legatine Council of Antioch in November 1140: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xv, 16, p. 697; R. Hiestand, 'Ein neuer Bericht über das Konzil von Antiochia 1140', *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 20 (1988), pp. 314-50; 'Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande', ed. Hiestand (see n. 15), pp. 160-4, no. 46.

¹⁸ On 8 February 1128 Bishop Gerald of Rania confirmed a grant made by his predecessor, Bishop Aimery: 'Inventaire de pièces de Terre Sainte de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital', ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *ROL*, 3 (1895), p. 46, no. 8; J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)* (Paris, 1945).

¹⁹ See the map, 'Géographie féodale, 1103-1113', in M. Amouroux-Mourad, *Le comté d'Édesse 1098-1150* (Paris, 1988), p. 122.

only information about this see is given by the Armenian scholar, St Nersēs of Lampron, who does not date its foundation²⁰. Further south, the lands of the Armenian Prince Bagrat were annexed by Baldwin II in 1117/18 and the Latin archbishopric of Quris (Cyrrhus) may have been created soon after that, although it is not recorded until 1139²¹. The chief see of western Edessa, Hierapolis, is first mentioned in 1134. The city of Hierapolis, known in the Middle Ages as Manbij, was never captured by the Franks, but the Latin archbishops of Hierapolis established their see at Duluk, which the Franks called La Tuluppe. The bishops of Kesoun, and perhaps those of Marash, may have been suffragans of Hierapolis²².

At some unknown date, a Latin diocese was founded in the coastal city of Valania, near the castle of al-Marqab; this foundation may have been made at the same time as the establishment of the see of Latakia. All that is certain is that in a charter of 1163 Bishop Anterius of Valania confirmed an agreement which had been made by his predecessor, Bishop Gerald, and the Order of the Temple²³.

Although when setting up these dioceses the patriarchs of Antioch made some attempt to conform to the traditional Orthodox hierarchical structure, that was largely a cosmetic exercise. The establishment of the Latin hierarchy was dictated primarily by considerations of administration and defence. This is true even in the case of the see of Albara, which in Orthodox times had not been a diocese but merely part of the province of Apamea. Tancred captured Apamea in 1106 and by 1110 Peter of Narbonne, bishop of Albara, had been created archbishop of Apamea. Nevertheless, he also retained the title of Albara, which he and his successors continued to use interchangeably with that of Apamea until 1144. Although I formerly argued that the re-establishment of the

²⁰ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 275-6; St Nerses of Lampron, *Reflections on the Institutions of the Church*, ed. with French trans. E. Dulaurier, RHC Arm., I, p. 577; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, III, 74, Dostourian, p. 220.

²¹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xv, 14, 16, pp. 694, 696.

²² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 104; C. Kohler, 'Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108-1291): Analyses et extraits', *ROL*, 7 (1899), p. 129, no. 19 (this document bears the seal of Archbishop Franco of Hierapolis, which Kohler describes). J. Richard has suggested that the bishops of Marash and perhaps Kesoun were suffragans of Hierapolis, 'The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States', in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, v, pp. 242-3.

²³ *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano, oggi di Malta*, ed. S. Paoli, 2 vols (Lucca, 1733-7), I, pp. 40-1, no. 39; R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)*, 2 vols (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), I, p. 100, no. 381.

see of Apamea was motivated chiefly by a desire to restore the Orthodox provincial system, I find Asbridge's argument persuasive — that the change was made mainly because dual control of Albara and Apamea increased the archbishop's temporal power in the frontier region of the Jabal al-Summaq²⁴.

Each of the seventeen Latin dioceses had an archdeacon and a chapter of canons. These varied in number considerably. Pope Honorius III stated that there had originally been eighteen canons of Antioch, but that they had been reduced in number to twelve or thirteen in order to defray the expense of strengthening the fortifications of the patriarch's castle of Cursat in the years after 1155²⁵. In 1227 there were twelve canons of Tripoli and it is possible that this number had been fixed before the territorial losses of 1187, but that is not certain²⁶. The fragmentary evidence about the other Latin cathedrals suggests that they had about five canons each in the twelfth century²⁷.

The Italian communes, Pisa and Genoa, which had quarters in Antioch and some other coastal cities, had their own churches, served by clergy supplied by the mother-city²⁸. Other Latin churches existed for the use of the Catholic population, but they were not numerous. The *Syriac Chronicle* of 1234, for example, reports that at Edessa, besides the Cathedral of St John, the Franks had only the Churches of St Stephen and St Thomas²⁹. When the bishop of Tortosa reached an agreement with the Templars about the administration of that fief in 1152, he stated that he would retain control over all the churches in the city and port, apart from the castle chapel, which the Order would administer³⁰.

²⁴ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 23, where full references will be found; Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 199.

²⁵ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols (Rome, 1888-95), no. 3497; H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 84; P. Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, III, *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* (Paris, 1973), pp. 351-7.

²⁶ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. Pressutti, no. 6135.

²⁷ It is not practical to set out all the references in a footnote. Some verification may be found in the references given by R. Röhrich, 'Syria Sacra', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, 10 (1887), pp. 3-34. Many additional documents have been published since then, but the information which they give about the composition of cathedral chapters in the patriarchate of Antioch is substantially the same.

²⁸ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 103.

²⁹ *Anonymi chronicon ad annum 1234*, §422 (pp. 100-1).

³⁰ J. Riley-Smith, 'The Templars and the Castle of Tortosa in Syria: An Unknown Document concerning the Acquisition of the Fortress', *English Historical Review*, 84 (1969), pp. 278-88.

Because no parallel work, incorporating archaeological as well as documentary evidence, has been done in the northern Crusader States to that of Ronnie Ellenblum on Frankish rural settlement in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, or that of Denys Pringle on the churches of the southern kingdom, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which the Latin church spread into the countryside in the northern states³¹. When William, Frankish lord of Haronia in Cilicia, made a grant to the Jerusalem Monastery of Our Lady of Josaphat in 1135, it was witnessed by Walter the priest, as chaplain of Haronia, not chaplain of Lord William³². This implies that there was a Latin chapel which served the settlement of Haronia. Similarly, when the Patriarch Aimery of Limoges adjudicated a property dispute between the archbishop of Apamea and the Hospitallers in 1174/5, the estate of Tricaria was awarded to the Hospital and with it the right to appoint a chaplain there, or a vicar for a chaplain, who would be subject to the Order and exempt from episcopal authority³³. Further examples of this kind exist in the twelfth-century records, which suggest that Latin chapels were to be found in the principal settlements of lordships and also at some administrative centres within those lordships³⁴.

Domestic chaplains were numerous. They were attached to the households of all Latin bishops and noblemen, and important lords had several of them. Thus Raymond of Poitiers was attended by three 'chaplains of the palace' when he presided at a property dispute in Antioch in 1140³⁵.

The Franks of Edessa, Antioch and Tripoli were generous patrons of the shrine churches in the southern kingdom of Jerusalem³⁶. Regular clergy were not attracted to the northern states in any numbers. The

³¹ R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1993, 1998).

³² Kohler, 'Chartes' (see n. 22), p. 130.

³³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 474.

³⁴ E.g. in his grant to the Templars in 1152, Bishop William of Tortosa conceded that: 'Ille ... aecclesie que in castris ubi fratres Templi habitabunt ... ipsorum erunt libere et absolute cum omni parochiali jure ...', Riley-Smith, 'Tortosa' (see n. 30), p. 285.

³⁵ *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, p. 182, no. 77.

³⁶ Amouroux-Mourad, *Comté d'Édesse* (see n. 19), p. 140. Antioch: Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 325-6; Kohler, 'Chartes' (see n. 22), pp. 151-3, no. 44; *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, pp. 176-8, no. 76. Tripoli: *ibid.*, pp. 185-7, no. 79; J. Richard, 'Le chartier de Sainte-Marie Latine et l'établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont-Pèlerin', in *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 605-12. Raymond IV and his successors at Tripoli were also benefactors of the canons regular of Saint-Ruf of Avignon, R. Hiestand, 'Saint-Ruf d'Avignon, Raymond de Saint-Gilles et l'église latine du comté de Tripoli', *Annales du Midi*, 98 (1986), pp. 327-36.

Benedictine Abbey of St Paul's in Antioch was founded by 1108³⁷; and by 1140 there was also an Abbey of St George in the city, belonging to Austin Canons³⁸. Latin solitaries, on the other hand, settled in considerable numbers on the Black Mountain of Antioch, where there had for centuries been an Eastern monastic presence. Some lived alone, but others formed an eremitical community in a house called Machanath³⁹.

The growth of the Latin patriarchate of Antioch was quite rapid and extensive and required the services of a large number of clergy. The first group of Latin bishops were chosen from priests who had accompanied the First Crusade, many of them as chaplains. This meant that they had experience of warfare, which certainly stood them in good stead. Bernard, the first Latin patriarch of Antioch, was one of them, and accompanied the Frankish armies into battle at Harran in 1104, riding on a mule, though he took no part in the fighting. During his long reign, he on various occasions took charge of the civil government of Antioch, particularly in the years between the death of Prince Roger in 1119 and the coming of age of Bohemond II in 1126⁴⁰. Similarly, Peter, bishop of Albara, was given half of the city and the surrounding region to administer as soon as he was appointed. He and Archbishop Roger of Tarsus led troops to support Tancred when Mawdud of Mosul attacked Antioch in 1110⁴¹. Archbishop Benedict of Edessa was present at the battle of Harran in 1104, at which he was taken prisoner, but freed by the bravery of Tancred⁴². Other clergy came to the East in the early years of the settlement, like Albert, the abbot of St Erard, who joined Raymond IV at the siege of Tripoli and became first bishop of that city⁴³. Some of the first generation of Frankish churchmen proved to be long-lived. Peter of Albara-Apamea did not die until c. 1123, while Bernard of Valence stayed in office as patriarch until 1135. While they were alive, links with

³⁷ *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531*, ed. G. Müller, Documenti degli archivi Toscani, 3 (Florence, 1879), p. 3, no. 1.

³⁸ *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, p. 185, no. 78.

³⁹ B.Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth, a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer of the Latin East: A Contribution to the Intellectual History of the Crusader States', *DOP*, 37 (1983), pp. 55-77; A. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, Pa., 1995), pp. 25-9, 34, 41, 63, 67.

⁴⁰ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 200-7.

⁴¹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, p. 92; Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, xi, 40, p. 682.

⁴² Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, II, xxvii, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 468-77; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, ch. cxlix, p. 710; Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, ix, 39-40, pp. 614-6.

⁴³ *Les Assises de Jérusalem*, RHC, Lois, II, pp. 479-80, no I.

the West remained strong.⁴⁴ In 1125 Bishop Pons Maurice of Le Puy, who had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came to Antioch, where he met with Bernard, described as 'his friend, the patriarch of the city', and assisted at the translation of Bishop Adhémar's remains to a more elegant tomb⁴⁵.

Similarly, when a chaplain of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who was a native of Reims, visited Edessa in c. 1125, he found a number of men from Reims whom he knew among the clergy there, who gave him relics to take back to the archbishop of Rheims when he returned to Western Europe.⁴⁶ These links are known about by chance, although they are not surprising in a county whose ruling family was part of the Monthléry cousinage and had strong links with the French court⁴⁷.

The same pattern of recruitment may be glimpsed at Antioch. Ralph of Domfront, the second Latin patriarch, came from Normandy and clearly had links with the Antiochene nobility although it is not known what they were. He became archbishop of Mamistra as a young man and in 1135 was uncanonically chosen to succeed Bernard of Valence as patriarch by the lay leaders of Antioch⁴⁸. His chief clerical opponent, Canon Arnulf, was a Norman nobleman from Calabria, who knew Roger II of Sicily and had probably come to the East in the entourage of Bohemond II in 1126⁴⁹.

What these fragments of evidence suggest is that, while the Latin church of Antioch was expanding, bishops and noblemen encouraged their kinsmen living in the West who were in holy orders to join them, with the expectation of rapid promotion. In this way they were able to select the right kind of candidates, who had gifts of secular leadership as well as an ecclesiastical training, to hold positions of importance in the church. These ambitious young men were not all knights *manqués*.

⁴⁴ Peter of Apamea was present at the *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119: Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, II, 3, p. 104 (p. 119); William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XII, 10, pp. 558-9. He may have been the unnamed bishop who defended Albara against the Emir Balak in 1123: Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 84. He is mentioned in no later source. Bernard of Valence died 'tricesimo sexto sui pontificatus anno', William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIV, 10, p. 641.

⁴⁵ *Chartularium S. Thiofredi Calmihensis*, ed. U. Chevalier, pp. 165-6, cited in RHC Occ., 5, p. 355, n. 4.

⁴⁶ PL 155, cc. 877-80.

⁴⁷ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 169-88.

⁴⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIV, 10, pp. 641-2; Hamilton, 'Ralph of Domfront' (see n. 17), pp. 1-21.

⁴⁹ Arnulf had been a canon before Ralph's election and later became archbishop of Cosenza: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIV, 10; XV, 12, pp. 642, 691.

Aimery of Limoges, the third Latin patriarch, was a considerable scholar. Like Raymond of Poitiers he came from Aquitaine, and his uncle was Peter Armoine, whom Raymond had appointed as castellan of Antioch. Almost as soon as he reached Syria, Aimery was made dean of Antioch cathedral⁵⁰. North Syria in the twelfth century was attractive to other Western scholars, such as the Englishman, Adelard of Bath⁵¹.

The prosperity and expansion of the Latin church of Antioch was brought to a sudden end by the unification of Muslim power in north Syria by Zengi of Mosul and his son, Nūr al-Dīn. In 1137 Zengi captured Rafaniyah; in 1144 he seized Edessa and occupied all the county to the east of the Euphrates; in 1147-8 Nūr al-Dīn took Artah; in 1149-50 the sultan of Iconium, taking advantage of the collapse of Frankish power, captured Marash and Kesoun; in 1149 Nūr al-Dīn took Apamea and in 1150 annexed Western Edessa and the archbishopric of Cyrrhus; by 1152 he had also gained control of the archbishopric of Hierapolis at Duluk⁵². In the same period, as a result of Byzantine intervention and Armenian resurgence, the Franks lost control of Cilicia, including the archbishoprics of Tarsus and Mamistra, probably in 1138⁵³. Finally, in the winter of 1151-2 Nūr al-Dīn sacked Tortosa, although he did not annex it⁵⁴. By that time the patriarchate of Antioch consisted only of Antioch city and the coastal dioceses of Jabala, Latakia, Valania, Tortosa, Tripoli and Jubail.

⁵⁰ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xv, 18, pp. 699-700; B. Hamilton, 'Aimery of Limoges, Patriarch of Antioch: Ecumenist, Scholar and Patron of Hermits', in *The Joy of Learning and the Love of God: Studies in Honor of Jean Leclercq*, ed. E.R. Elder (Kalamazoo, 1995), pp. 269-90.

⁵¹ L. Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* (London, 1994), pp. 32-40.

⁵² H.A.R. Gibb, 'Zengi and the Fall of Edessa', in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, i, pp. 458-62; N. Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades (511-569H/1118-1174)*, 3 vols (Damascus, 1967), ii, pp. 409, 434-5, 451, 455-6, 458, 462, 473. Duluk was captured from the Franks in 1151 by Masud of Iconium, but taken from him by Nūr al-Dīn in 1152: *ibid.*, pp. 462, 473.

⁵³ In his campaign of 1137-8 John II seized Cilicia and expelled the Latin archbishops from Tarsus and Mamistra: Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 68-9; J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), p. 87. Frankish attempts to regain control proved ephemeral. The Latin archbishops retired to Antioch. Gaudinus of Mamistra is last recorded in April 1140: *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, pp. 177, 182, nos 76, 77; Stephen of Tarsus was present at the legatine council of Antioch in December 1140, but appears in no later source: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xv, 16, p. 696.

⁵⁴ Riley-Smith, 'Tortosa' (see n. 30), pp. 278-88.

Most of the Latin clergy in the captured cities seem either to have been killed in the fighting (or like those of Marash, killed by bandits while going to seek refuge in Frankish territory)⁵⁵, or to have been imprisoned by the Muslims, like the Catholic priests of Edessa who survived the siege⁵⁶. The Muslim conquests did not, therefore, produce a large number of dispossessed Latin clergy seeking new benefices. The Patriarch Aimery made no attempt to appoint titular bishops to the lost dioceses, with the exception of Apamea, for which an archbishop and a chapter of canons continued to be appointed, probably because part of its territory was still in Frankish control⁵⁷.

Thus in the space of a few years Antioch ceased to look such an inviting prospect to ambitious young Western clergy. Bishops there were still expected to undertake secular duties, and the Patriarch Aimery set them a good example by organizing the defence of Antioch after the death of Prince Raymond in battle in 1149, and again after the capture of Prince Bohemond III by Nūr al-Dīn in 1164⁵⁸. Bishops were also used as diplomats. Bishop Gerard of Latakia, who had spent much of his early life as a hermit, accompanied Prince Reynald when he went to make peace with the Emperor Manuel in 1158. Perhaps it was hoped that Gerard's asceticism would make him acceptable to the Byzantine court, because he conformed more nearly than other Latin bishops to the Byzantine ideal of a holy man⁵⁹. Bishop Romanus of Tripoli and the bishop of Jabala represented the patriarchate at the Third Lateran Council in 1179⁶⁰; and when news of the defeat at Haṭṭin reached Antioch in 1187, the Patriarch Aimery sent the bishops of Jabala and Valania to Henry II of England to seek help⁶¹.

That the Latin patriarchate of Antioch survived at all in the second half of the twelfth century was chiefly due to the readiness of the Military

⁵⁵ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, xvii, 10, iii, p. 290.

⁵⁶ Zengi's troops 'separated the priests and chief men among [the Franks] ... and sent them to prison in Aleppo': *Anonymi chronicon ad annum 1234*, §415, p. 94.

⁵⁷ In 1174 Archbishop Gerald of Apamea and his canons were involved in a property dispute with the Knights of St John: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, i, no. 474.

⁵⁸ Hamilton, 'Aimery of Limoges' (see n. 50), pp. 273-5.

⁵⁹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xviii, 23, p. 845. It is not absolutely certain that the hermit, Gerard of Nazareth, became bishop of Latakia, but Kedar rightly considers it very likely: Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth' (see n. 39), pp. 62-3.

⁶⁰ *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. G.D. Mansi, 31 vols (Florence and Venice, 1759-98), xxii, 462.

⁶¹ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 49 (London, 1867) (published as *The Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough*), ii, pp. 38-9.

Orders to take an increasingly large share of responsibility for its defence, but that further reduced the power of the Latin hierarchy. In 1152 the bishop of Tortosa placed the castle and the fief of Tortosa in the hands of the Templars. He reserved his right to control the churches of the city and added: 'The brethren of the Temple shall hold the churches situated in those towns where they have houses, complete with all parochial rights, together with all the other churches of the whole bishopric' except for seven named places, some of which belonged to the Knights of St John⁶². In 1186 the castle and fief of Margat were sold to the Knights of St John, and the bishop of Valania, in whose diocese they were situated, lost control over much of his territory⁶³.

Yet although the bishops' patronage was much reduced, Aimery of Limoges did restore some semblance of prestige to his church. He sought to make his cathedral school a centre of intellectual excellence, and in the 1170s tried to induce the Pisan theologian, Hugo Eteriano, adviser to Manuel Komnenos on Western church affairs, to come and settle in Antioch, where he offered him a rich canonry⁶⁴. In Aimery's reign the Cistercians made their first foundation in the Crusader States at Belmont in Lebanon⁶⁵; while Latin hermits continued to live in large numbers on the Black Mountain and Aimery legislated about their spiritual direction⁶⁶. When the city of Tarsus was restored to Frankish rule in 1177, possibly as a dowry for the Emperor Manuel's niece Theodora who married Prince Bohemond III of Antioch, Aimery appointed a Latin archbishop there⁶⁷, and, with the assent of the Armenian ruler of Cilicia,

⁶² Riley-Smith, 'Tortosa' (see n. 30), p. 285.

⁶³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 783; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 68-9.

⁶⁴ A. Dondaine, 'Hugues Éthérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 77 (1958), p. 474; R. Hiestand, 'Un centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus', *Le Moyen Âge*, 5 ser., 8 (1994), pp. 7-36.

⁶⁵ L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium*, 1 (Vienna, 1877), p. 139, no. CCCLIV; B. Hamilton, 'The Cistercians in the Crusader States', in *One yet Two: Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. M.B. Pennington (Kalamazoo, 1976), pp. 405-8.

⁶⁶ Gerard of Nazareth reports that Aimery 'legem tulit, ne quis in Monte Nigro sine maiore inspectore vivere solitarius', cited by Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth' (see n. 39), p. 74.

⁶⁷ On the political status of Tarsus see B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 188. In 1178 Michael the Syrian reports that the Patriarch Aimery sent 'the Bishop of Tarsus and two priests' as envoys to him: Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 378. Albert, archbishop of Tarsus, became chancellor of Bohemond III from 1187-91: Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 105.

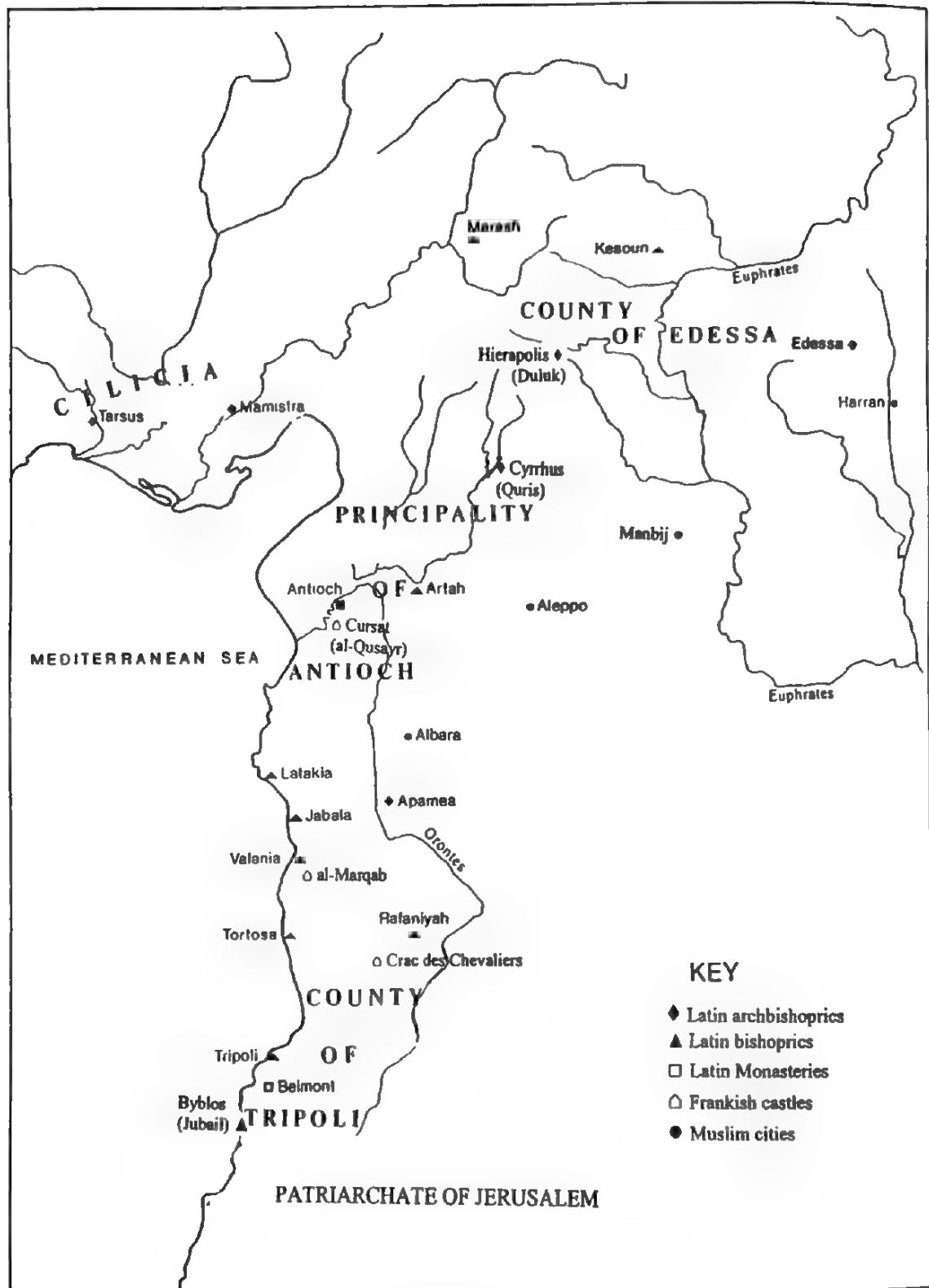
Roupen II, he also revived the Latin archbishopric of Mamistra before 1186⁶⁸.

This revival ended when, after his victory at Hattin, Saladin campaigned in north Syria and captured the Latin dioceses of Latakia and Jabala, as well as that of Jubail in the county of Tripoli⁶⁹. Apart from Antioch city, the only sees which remained in Frankish hands were Tripoli, Tortosa, which was largely controlled by the Knights Templar, and Valania, whose bishops sought refuge in the nearby Hospitaller fortress of al-Marqab⁷⁰. After 1187 the recruitment of clergy by the Latin patriarchs of Antioch ceased to be a problem.

⁶⁸ Archbishop Bartholomew of Mamistra witnessed a charter of Bohemond III in 1186: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 783. He is the first known Latin archbishop of that see since 1140.

⁶⁹ M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 270, 287-8.

⁷⁰ Relations between the Order and the bishop, who at that time was himself a member of the Order, were regulated by Celestine III in 1197: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 999.



- KEY**
- ◆ Latin archbishoprics
 - ▲ Latin bishoprics
 - Latin Monasteries
 - Frankish castles
 - Muslim cities

The Latin Patriarchate of Antioch

THE DESCRIPTION OF ANTIOCH IN ABŪ AL-MAKĀRIM'S
*HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT
AND SOME NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES*

CLARA TEN HACKEN*

*Introduction*¹

In 1895 B.T.A. Evetts published his edition of a work entitled: *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ, the Armenian*². He provided the Arabic text with a translation in English³. The original work was composed in the twelfth-thirteenth century and the date of the manuscript under discussion here is A.D. 1338 as is mentioned by the copyist on f. 113. As Evetts wrote in his introduction, the manuscript is incomplete and there is no indication of a title or an author⁴. Written on the first remaining page of the manuscript in a later hand is: 'Abū Ṣāliḥ, a history, containing an account of the districts and regions of Egypt.' Evetts, however, provided the work with a new title which is more in accordance with the contents: 'Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries', and with some doubts, he assumed Abū Ṣāliḥ, to be its author⁵. Subsequently, this title and this author were used to refer to this work until nearly a century later. In 1984, Father Samuel⁶, at that time a

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ I am most grateful to Dr K. Ciggaar, Dr T. Vorderstrasse and Dr J. den Heijer for their comments and their encouragement.

² *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abu Salih the Armenian*, ed. and trans. B.T.A. Evetts, with added notes by A.J. Butler, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, 7 (Oxford, 1895; reprint Oxford, 1969, and Piscataway, NJ, 2001).

³ *Ibid.*, in the introduction, p. v, Evetts writes that he made a copy of the text of this manuscript for his edition.

⁴ The text itself has no indication of its original title. See *ibid.*, introduction, p. ix.

⁵ According to Zanetti the name of Abū Ṣāliḥ was written in 'scriptio defectuosa' (without an alif) and Renaudot, followed by others, transcribed it as 'Abou Selah' or 'Abū Ṣahli (Ṣulḥ)'. See U. Zanetti, 'Abu l-Makarim et Abu Salih', in *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 34 (1995), p. 87, n. 8; Graf, *GCAL*, II, pp. 338-9.

⁶ Father Samuel was a monk in Deir al-Suryan and later became bishop of Ṣībīn al-Qanāṭir. He has done much for the preservation of the heritage of the Coptic Arabic literature. He died in the summer of 2003.

monk at Deir al-Suryan in Egypt, published a new edition, written in Arabic, entitled: 'History of the churches and monasteries in the twelfth century by Abū al-Makārim, wrongly attributed to Abū Šāliḥ, the Armenian.'⁷ As can be inferred from this title, the work was related to Evetts' edition and it shows continued confusion about the author. Father Samuel's edition drew the attention of two European scholars, Father Ugo Zanetti and Johannes den Heijer. Independently from each other they both studied the relation between those two editions and cleared up the confusion about the author and the composition of the work⁸.

Editorial history of the manuscript

In 1672-3, Johann Michael Wansleben, a German Orientalist and monk of the Dominican order, visited Egypt and bought several manuscripts on request of the Royal Library of Paris⁹. The manuscript discussed here was one of these acquisitions and it is now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris designated as *Paris arabe 307*¹⁰. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, several scholars¹¹, who like

⁷ *Tārīḥ al-kanā'is wa-l-adyura fī l-qarn al-tānī 'ašar al-milādī li-'Abī al-Makārim, alladī nusiba ḥata'an ilā 'Abī Šāliḥ al-Armanī, i'dād wa ta'liq al-rāhib Šamū'il al-Suryānī*, ed. Samuel al-Suryani, 4 vols (Dayr al-Suryān, 1984); a second edition of these 4 volumes appeared in 2000 entitled: *Tārīḥ Abū al-Makārim, i'dād al-anba Šamū'il usqf Šībīn al-Qanāṭir; English translation of the first volume: Bishop Samuel, Abu al Makarem: History of the Churches and Monasteries in Lower Egypt in the 13th Century* (Cairo, 1992).

⁸ U. Zanetti, 'Abu l-Makarim' (see n. 5), pp. 85-138; J. den Heijer, 'The Composition of the *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*: Some Preliminary Remarks', in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12-15 August 1992* (Rome, 1993), II, part 1, pp. 209-19; and J. den Heijer, 'The Influence of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* on the *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* by Abū l-Makārim (and Abū Šāliḥ?)', in *Parole de l'Orient*, 19 (1994), pp. 415-39.

⁹ Vansleb (Wansleben), Johann Michael (d. 1679), German Orientalist, converted to Catholicism and joined the Dominican Order. He travelled in the Orient to buy manuscripts for the Royal Library of Paris. He wrote several publications about his experiences in the Orient. See M. Martin, 'Vansleb (Wansleben), Johann Michael (d. 1679)', in *CE*, VII (1991), p. 2299.

¹⁰ G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris, 1972), I, p. 269, nr. 307. The description of this manuscript in the catalogue is as follows: 'Abū Šāliḥ al-Armanī, *Ta'rīḥ tuḍkar fīhi aḥbār min nawāḥī Miṣr wa-aqtā'ihā*.' (A history containing information about the districts and regions of Egypt), anonymous copy dated 1338, 113 folios.

¹¹ For example E. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893; reprint Osnabrück, 1973), pp. xxiv-v.

Wansleben¹² wrote about their experiences in the Orient, used the text. Eusèbe Renaudot also used the manuscript for his study about the history of the patriarchs of the church of Alexandria, published in 1713¹³. When Evetts' edition appeared in 1895, the work became available for a greater public.

At an international congress of geography held in Cairo in 1925, an Egyptian scholar named Tewfik Iscarous presented a short communication, in which he informed the attendants about the find of a new Arabic manuscript containing a description of the churches and monasteries of Egypt¹⁴. At that moment this manuscript was in the possession of a notable originating from Tanta in Northern Egypt, named Ğirĝis Fīlūtā'ūs 'Awad¹⁵. Tewfik Iscarous argued that this newly found manuscript formed one unity with the manuscript kept in Paris. Moreover, he argued that Abū Šāliḥ was not the author of this work. He based his opinion on the fact that the newly found text provided the name of the real author in several places and that he was a Copt, probably a priest, named Abū al-Makārim¹⁶. Although this information was published in 1926 in the acts of the congress, the scholarly world did not take much notice. In the following years references made to this work continued to mention Abū Šāliḥ as the assumed author¹⁷. Only Graf, in his famous

¹² J.M. Wansleben, *Nouvelle relation en forme de Journal d'un voyage fait en Egypte en 1672 et 1673* (Paris, 1677); idem, *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie fondée par S. Marc, que nous appelons celle des Jacobites-Coptes d'Egypte: écrite au Caire même, en 1672 & 1673* (Paris, 1677).

¹³ E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum a D. Marco usque ad finem saeculi XIII* (Paris, 1713). See for example pp. 452-9, 550.

¹⁴ Tewfik Eff. Iscarous, 'Un nouveau manuscrit sur les églises et les monastères de l'Égypte au XIIe siècle', in *Congrès international de géographie, le Caire — avril 1925*, Union Géographique Internationale (Cairo, 1926), v, part 2, pp. 207-8.

¹⁵ Ğirĝis Fīlūtā'ūs 'Awad is also mentioned by Graf, *GCAL*, iv, pp. 149-50, as the author of several works. This manuscript had formerly belonged to Father Fīlūtā'ūs, the superior of the Coptic Orthodox Cathedral at Cairo, who used it for the redaction of a work about the Coptic history and geography, forming the sixth vol. of the work consisting of 20 vols composed by 'Alī Mubārak (d. 1893), *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-taufīqiyya al-gadīda*, published in 1888 (Bulaq Cairo, 1888/9).

¹⁶ His full name is Abū l-Makārim Sa'dallāh ibn Ğirĝis ibn Mas'ūd, and according to the text he bears the title of 'al Sheikh al Mu'taman', see J. den Heijer, 'Composition' (see n. 8), p. 211, 214.

¹⁷ For example: M. Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt* (Cairo, 1939-42), i, pp. 64-5, Hist. 436. This catalogue writes about this MS: 'The chronicle of Abī Šāliḥ the Armenian. Arabic. 113 plates, photographic copy of a MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Arabe No. 307)'; P. Sbath, *Al-Fihris (Catalogue de Manuscrits Arabes)* (Cairo, 1938-40), Supplément, pp. 9-10, no. [930] (2523). This catalogue writes: '[930] Abou Sâlih al-Armanî, auteur du XIIe siècle.

work *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, referring to the Guide of the Coptic Museum, seemed to have found the same information as Tewfik Iscarous had given earlier¹⁸.

Finally, in 1984, Father Samuel published his edition, clearly indicating in the title that Abū Ṣāliḥ was not the author¹⁹. In his edition, consisting of four volumes, Evetts' text appears as volume II inserted between two other volumes, neither of which had been published earlier. These two unknown volumes, volumes I and III, appeared to contain the text of the above mentioned newly found manuscript that once belonged to Ğirġis Fīlūtā'ūs 'Awaḍ. The fourth volume is not directly related to the manuscripts. Rather, it presents several reports of travellers in the East²⁰ and at the end it contains an unpublished article written by the same Ğirġis Fīlūtā'ūs 'Awaḍ. In the article, he argues that both manuscripts (the one in Paris and the one in his possession) belong together and that Abū al-Makārim, not Abū Ṣāliḥ, is the author of the whole work²¹. Nowhere in his edition does Father Samuel mention the place

Histoire des Chrétiens en Égypte à l'époque de l'auteur.' The manuscripts in this catalogue composed by Sbath are in private possession and the owner of MS 930 is Ğirġis Abd al-Massīh, a Copt from Cairo; J. Muysier, 'Notice sur l'identification d'Apa Sion, martyr copte', in *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 9 (1943), pp. 79, 83. The last author refers to the edition made by Evetts (see n. 2); Graf, *GCAL*, II, pp. 338-40. Graf writes: 'Abū Ṣāliḥ (Ṣulḥ) der Armenier', and he refers to MS 307 kept in de Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

¹⁸ Graf, *GCAL*, II, p. 340. Graf mentions the *Guide of the Coptic Museum (Daḥil al-maḥaḥaf al-qibḥī)* (Cairo, 1932), II, p. 276 as the source for this information. According to Graf, the Hegumen Manassā should have referred to this work already in 1924: Hegumenos Manassā, *Kitāb ta'rīḥ al-kanīsa al-qibḥīya*, (1924), p. 497; according to Zanetti, 'Abū l-Makarim' (see n. 5), p. 89, n. 13: *l'Histoire de l'Église Copte de l'hig. Manassā (Ta'rīḥ al-kanīsa al-qubḥīya)*, ta'alīf al-mutanayyih al-qommos Manassā Yūḥannā (reprint Cairo, Maḥabba, s.d.), p. 379: X/2).

¹⁹ After the publication of Father Samuel's edition, Aziz S. Atiya, the editor of *CE* published in 1991, took notice of the work of Father Samuel. See the articles on Abū l-Makārim and Abū Ṣāliḥ in *CE*, I, pp. 23 and 33. The work had also been noticed by the editor of a French periodical, see P. Samuel du Monastère des Syriens, 'Icônes et iconographie en Égypte au XIIe siècle d'après le manuscrit d'Abū-el-Makārim, publié en arabe au Caire en 1984', *Le Monde Copte*, 18 (1990), p. 78.

²⁰ The reports involve the description of Egypt by al-Shābushtī (d. A.D. 998), al-Maqrīzī (d. A.D. 1441), 'Alī Mubārak (printed in 1888, Bulaq Cairo, see n. 15) (d. 1893), and an Arabic translation of the reports of Vansleb, Sicard and the Napoleonic expedition. Probably the articles in this fourth volume were assembled and published by Father Samuel, although he does not mention this fact.

²¹ Ğirġis Fīlūtā'ūs 'Awaḍ, the author of the last article in this volume: 'Abū al-Makārim wa Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī kitāb wāḥid' (Abū al-Makārim and Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, one book). He probably studied the copy of the Paris manuscript kept at the Coptic Museum according to the catalogue of Simaika (see n. 17).

where this second manuscript is kept at present. In 2000, a second edition of the work of Father Samuel appeared, again in four volumes, but now entitled: *The history of Abū al-Makārim*, in which every volume had a subtitle referring to its contents.²²

In Rome in 1992, Father Zanetti met Father Samir who told him that the second manuscript, on which the volumes I and III of the edition by Father Samuel are based, had been bought by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich already in 1978²³. After a study of both manuscripts, in Paris and in Munich, Father Zanetti wrote in his preliminary conclusion that both parts probably originally formed one volume and that it was torn apart at some time between 1338 (the date of the copy) and 1672/1673 (the time when Wansleben bought the Paris manuscript). Therefore the manuscript is now partly in Munich and partly in Paris. On this point all the scholars agree, but they do not agree on the sequence of the volumes. The part in Paris had been edited by Evetts under the name of Abū Šāliḥ and was republished by Father Samuel as volume II. The part in Munich formerly belonged to Ğirġis Fīlūtā'ūs 'Awaḍ and was published by Father Samuel as volumes I and III. In contrast to Father Samuel's sequence, Father Zanetti considers the manuscript in Munich to be the first part and the manuscript from Paris, containing the colophon, as the second and last part. The sequence of the volumes according to Father Zanetti in terms of the volumes as given by Father Samuel is therefore I, III, II. He based his conclusion on a thorough study of the pagination of the folios of both parts.

Johannes den Heijer dealt with the composition of the work, and based himself on the edition of Father Samuel²⁴. He discovered that the text had been composed in several periods from ca 1160 till 1220 and that Abū al-Makārim is but one of several persons involved in compiling the work. According to him, the role of Abū Šāliḥ is still uncertain.

²² Anba Samuel, *Tārīḥ Abū al-Makārim, i'dād al-anba Šamū'il usquf Šibīn al-Qanāṭir*, 4 vols (Cairo, 2000).

²³ U. Zanetti, 'Abu l-Makarim' (see n. 5), pp. 104, 111-2. See also K. Dachs and J. Assfalg, *Das Buch im Orient — Handschriften und kostbare Drucke aus zwei Jahrtausenden. Ausstellung 16. November 1982-5. Februar 1983* (Wiesbaden, 1982), p. 96, no. 49, MS Munich arabic 2570.

²⁴ J. den Heijer, 'Composition' (see n. 8).

*The contents of 'The History of Abū al-Makārim:
History of the Churches and Monasteries in the Twelfth Century in
Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries'*

The work consists of 365 folios, in paper, of which 57 are missing, according to Father Zanetti. Central to the work of Abū al-Makārim are the descriptions of churches and monasteries in Egypt and the surrounding countries. The entries are arranged in geographical order and, in addition to the architectural description of the site, historical information and the descriptions of events are given. These events may consist of historical facts, miracles, legends and all kinds of hagiographical data. The work lacks a clear order and is arranged rather unsystematically, because the author switches to and fro from one place to another and more than once returns to a subject after several paragraphs.

Following Father Samuel's edition, volume I starts with a description of the churches and monasteries of Northern Egypt, first at Cairo and then in the Delta, arranged from north to south. In volume II the author mentions the churches and monasteries situated south of Cairo, places visited by the Holy Family, churches and monasteries in Nubia, Ethiopia, northeastern Africa, Andalusia, India and Yemen. This is followed by a description of other regions outside Egypt in volume III: the Near East up to Iraq, the Mediterranean up to Rome, and ending with a description of the seven wonders of the world and the patriarchal sees of Ethiopia and Alexandria.

The author

Abū al-Makārim, who is now considered one of several compilers of this text, had been fairly unknown until now²⁵. The text gives some information about him: Abū al-Makārim was a priest of the Coptic Church with the title of *qummuṣ* (hegumen), who lived in the thirteenth century. From the text it may also be assumed that the author had been an eyewitness to many of the events he describes. Being a Christian, he

²⁵ U. Zanetti, 'Abu l-Makarim' (see n. 5), pp. 89-90; Graf, *GCAL*, II, p. 340. Zanetti and Graf mention the Hegumen Manassā who dedicated a few lines to Abū l-Makārim already in 1924 in his book: *l'Histoire de l'Église Copte de l'hig. Manassā (Ta'riḥ al-kanīsa al-qubṭiyya, ta'alīf al-mutanayyih al-qommos Manassā Yūḥannā* (reprint Cairo, Maḥabba, s.d.), p. 379: X/2). The *CE* seems to have taken the information about Abū l-Makārim from Father Samuel's edition, see A.S. Atiya, 'Abū l-Makārim', in *CE*, I, p. 23.

was nevertheless well acquainted with the works of Muslim scholars and the Quran. Further information on him still remains unavailable.

*Sources used by the author*²⁶

The author does not usually mention his sources and clear references to other authors or works are scarce. Although he never quotes a text literally, sometimes a source can be recognised from the contents. Apparently, the main source for the author had been the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, compiled in the eleventh century by Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Mufarriḡ²⁷. Another important source is the *History* written by al-Ṭabarī²⁸. The author seemed also to have used the works of al-Kindī²⁹ and his father³⁰, the first containing a collection of stories and legends, and the second entitled *al-Hiṭat* consisting of a topographical work. Several times the author refers to the description of the monasteries in the Middle East composed by the

²⁶ See for a more elaborate, although still preliminary, list of sources: J. den Heijer, 'Coptic Historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Early Mamlūk Periods', *Medieval Encounters*, 2 (1996), pp. 79-80; Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (see n. 2), pp. xiv-viii. For information about the way these sources have been used, see J. den Heijer, 'Influence' (see n. 8), pp. 420-7.

²⁷ This work, which survived in Arabic, was compiled in the eleventh century. It can be considered the official history of the Coptic Orthodox church. The text partly consists of Arabic translations of Coptic originals and of Arabic writings. It covers the history from the first to the thirteenth centuries followed by brief reports dealing with the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries. Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqaffa' has traditionally been considered the first author but actually his contribution has been shown to be spurious. The most important redactor and co-author is the Alexandrian notable and deacon, Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Mufarriḡ, and others continued his work. Renaudot based the greater part of his *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum* upon it. As a source for the *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* it is frequently quoted, either explicitly or without making any reference to it. See J. den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Mufarriḡ et l'historiographie copto-arabe: Etude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, CSCO 513, Subsidia, 83 (Leuven, 1989); idem, 'History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria', in *CE*, iv, pp. 1238-42; and idem, 'Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Mufarriḡ al-Iskandarānī (c. 1025-1100)', in *CE*, v, pp. 1573-4; see also the articles by the same author mentioned in notes 8 and 26.

²⁸ Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad ibn Ġarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī (839-923), he wrote *Tārīḥ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* (History of prophets and kings). See F. Rosenthal, *The History of Al-Ṭabarī* (Albany, 1989), 1; and the article by C.E. Bosworth on al-Ṭabarī in *EI*, x, pp. 11-15.

²⁹ Al-Kindi, 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tudjībī, son of the author mentioned in note 30, lived in the tenth century and is the author of *Kitāb Aḥbār Miṣr wa-Fadā'ilihā* (Excellences of Egypt). See F. Rosenthal, 'Al-Kindi', in *EI*, v, pp. 121-2.

³⁰ Al-Kindi, Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tudjībī, historian of Egypt, lived A.D. 879-961, the father of the author mentioned in note 29. He has written a topographical work entitled *Al-Hiṭat*. See Rosenthal, *Al-Kindi* (see n. 29).

Muslim author al-Shābushtī³¹. The works of two famous Christian authors, Saʿīd Ibn al-Bitriq³² and Agapius³³ are also mentioned as references.

The above-mentioned works form the most important sources, but this list is not complete and needs further study.

*About Antioch*³⁴

The passage about Antioch takes up about 12 folios and can be found after the paragraphs about Damascus, Lukiya³⁵, al-Sham and Caesarea.

³¹ A work on the monasteries in the Middle East by the Muslim author al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*. This work contains an account of 54 monasteries in the neighbourhood of Baghdad in Iraq, in Mosul, Palestine, and Egypt. Al-Shābushtī was in the service of the Fatimid caliph, al-ʿAzīz (A.D. 975-96) and is said to have died in A.D. 988 or a few years later. See A.S. Atiya, 'Some Egyptian Monasteries according to the Unpublished Manuscript of Al-Shābushtī's "Kitāb al-Diyārāt"', *BSAC*, 5 (1939), pp. 1-28; see also C.E. Bosworth, 'al-Shābushtī', in *EI*, IX, p. 165.

³² The *History (Tārīḥ)* by the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, Saʿīd Ibn al-Bitriq (*877, patriarch 932, d. 940), whose name was translated into Greek as Eutychius. His chief work was the *History (Tārīḥ)*. This work is also known as *Nazm al-Jawhar* (Row of jewels) or *Eutychii Annales*. See M. Breydy, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandria — Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Saʿīd Ibn Batriq um 935 A.D.*, CSCO, *Scriptores arabici*, 44-5 (Leuven, 1985). On the text see Graf, *GCAL*, II, pp. 32-8; M. Breydy, *Etudes sur Saʿīd Ibn Batriq et ses sources*, coll. CSCO, *Subsidia*, 69 (Leuven, 1983); A.S. Atiya, 'Ibn al-Bitriq, Saʿīd', in *CE*, IV, pp. 1265-6.

³³ The *History (Tārīḥ)* by the Melkite writer, Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī, also known as Agapius. He was a Jacobite bishop of Manbij (Hierapolis), who composed a history of the world in two parts. See Graf, *GCAL*, II, pp. 39-41. See Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿUnvan*. Agapius is mentioned in the history of Yahya ibn Saʿīd, see *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Saʿīd d'Antioche*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, PO 18, fasc. 5, p. 72; PO 23, fasc. 3, pp. 167-72, 181, 217, 220, 237, 238; *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Saʿīd d'Antioche*, III, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, F. Micheau, and G. Troupeau, in PO 47, fasc. 4, pp. 369-559.

³⁴ G. Troupeau wrote an article about the churches of Antioch in the works of several other Arabic authors: 'Les églises d'Antioche chez les auteurs arabes', in *L'Orient au cœur*, ed. F. Sanagustin, *Mélanges Miquel*, (Paris, 2001), pp. 319-27. Other references dealing with churches and monasteries in this environment: G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 50, III (Paris, 1958); E. Honigmann, 'Nordsyrische Klöster in vorarabischer Zeit', *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 1 (1922), pp. 15-33; E. Littmann, 'Zur Topographie der Antiochene und Apamene', *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 1 (1922), pp. 163-95; S.P. Brock, 'Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch', in *Lingua Restituta Orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, ed. R. Schulz and M. Görg, *Ägypten und Altes Testament*, 20 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 59-67; P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985), pp. 85-8, 337-42; J.B. van Loenen, *Antiochië in de geschiedenis van het Christendom* (Leiden, 1891); H. Kennedy, 'Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam and Back Again', in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Rich (London, 1992; reprint 1996), pp. 181-98; W. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO 372, *Subsidia*, 48 (Leuven, 1976); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London, 1890), pp. 367-77; *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. Th. Wright (London, 1848, reprint New York, 1968), p. 78.

³⁵ Lukiya: perhaps Laodicea?

It is followed by cities and regions in the neighbourhood such as Edessa, Homs and Cappadocia, and further on by Ephesus and Constantinople. As mentioned above, the work is arranged rather unsystematically. The passage about Antioch starts with a short history and description of the city itself. This is followed by the mention of a number of churches and monasteries in the city and its environment. Then the author returns to the city of Antioch to write about the building of the city accompanied with some legends and miraculous events. He proceeds with a description of several other churches and ends this chapter with information about the monasteries of the Black Mountain and the climate of Antioch. Several folios and several cities further on, the author returns again to the city of Antioch with a short description of three churches.

Introduction to the translation of the paragraphs dealing with Antioch

The translation is based on the MS Munich Arabic 2570, ff. 155r-166r, 169r.

In order to convey the intention of the author as much as possible, the English translation tries to be very close to the original Arabic text. The names of persons, churches, cities etc. are given in translation followed by the Arabic form in transcription between brackets. The division of the text in chapters is similar to the division made by the author or the copyist. Although the passages dealing with Antioch do not form a continuous text, the chapters are numbered in serial order by the author of this article. Moreover, the translation is divided into numbered paragraphs in this article in order to make the text conveniently arranged for the reader.

From chapter XII onwards, the text is very similar to the description of Antioch in an Arabic manuscript kept in the Vatican (Codex 286)³⁶. The beginning of this codex and the passage about the city of Antioch were published and translated by Ignazio Guidi into Italian in 1897³⁷. Olga De Lébédew translated the text into French in 1902³⁸. De Lébédew writes in the introduction to the translation that this manuscript consists of 134 folios and contains the reports of several journeys, descriptions of the

³⁶ Cod. Vat. ar. 286, ff. 111r-118r.

³⁷ I. Guidi, 'Una descrizione araba di Antiochia', in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie Quinta, 6 (Rome, 1897, pp. 137-61.

³⁸ O. De Lébédew, *Récits de Voyages d'un Arabe (Codex 286 du Vatican)*, trans. into French (St Petersburg, 1902), p. 71-86.

cities of Aleppo, Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, a history of Alexander the Great and the description of the Seven Wonders of the World. Although Madame De Lébédew does not mention the description of the city of Antioch in the introduction, she gives a translation of this passage. Both editors of the text, Guidi and De Lébédew, write that the composer of the text is unknown, but that he was probably a member of the Orthodox Church and lived at Aleppo. The manuscript is assumed to date from the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. The relation between this Vatican manuscript and the work composed by Abū al-Makārim has not yet been clarified and remains to be investigated³⁹.

The explanation of terms and names, references to written sources used by the author, and other comments on the text are given in footnotes. It must be admitted that this critical apparatus is still incomplete and not exhaustive. This translation of the chapters dealing with Antioch must therefore be considered as a preliminary study of the text and will hopefully initiate a thorough study of the work of Abū al-Makārim as a whole.

Conclusion

The work that is referred to as *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries* has been rather unknown until now. For nearly a century the place where it was kept was obscure. Both a complete critical and an annotated translation meeting modern scholarly requirements are still lacking. As a thorough study of this work is still to be expected, we can only conclude that we now know of the existence of this historical source, written in Arabic, consisting probably of two parts (one manuscript in Munich and one in Paris), dating from the twelfth-thirteenth century and composed by several persons, one of

³⁹ Just before submitting this article, my colleague Dr Tasha Vorderstrasse gave me photocopies of the dissertation made by W.F. Stinespring, *The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286* (diss. Yale University, copy in Princeton University Library, 1932). The dissertation involves a study of the manuscript, a presentation of the text as published by Guidi, a translation and a commentary. In the introduction on p. 7 Stinespring refers to an article written by D.S. Margoliouth in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1898 in which is mentioned the existence of another manuscript dealing with Antioch, which should be kept in the Bodleian Library. I am very grateful to Dr Tasha Vorderstrasse for this important information, which shall be taken in consideration when taking up this subject for further study.

them is called Abū al-Makārim, a Copt from Egypt. Whether Abū al-Makārim himself made some of the journeys to the cities and the countries described by him is unknown. It is very probable that he collected his information from several other written sources.

The text itself is arranged rather unsystematically and remains unclear in many aspects. It is quite a puzzle to find out what the author wants to say and to which persons and events he refers. Nevertheless, the text contains much valuable information for the history of the Middle East in general and for church history in particular. Moreover, the legendary and hagiographical aspects of the text give an idea about the Christian beliefs of the people of that region and that time. In general, the work, if treated with caution, can be an important contribution for the history of Christianity in those regions.

TRANSLATION OF THE PARAGRAPHS DEALING WITH ANTIOCH⁴⁰

I

[155a]

Antioch (Antākiya)

(1) Antiochus (Antiyuḥus), the king of the Romans (al-Rūm), founded this city in the days of Ptolemy (Baṭalīmūs⁴¹) Muḥibb, his brother, and he made its houses inclining and its towers three hundred and sixty and its galleries twenty-four thousand. (2) After this, Sulaiman the king destroyed it in the twenty-first year of his reign. Sulaiman the king built on the deserted remains of ruins. (3) Antioch (Antākiya) was built in the name of Mars (al-Mirrīḥ) [155b] [in his house and his honour?]⁴² and was finished in a period of three years and a half⁴³. (4) The

⁴⁰ The translation is based on the text of MS Munich arabic 2570, ff. 155a-166a, 169a, see note 23. My thanks go to Dr J. den Heijer who gave his comments on the translation and advised to stay close to the Arabic in the form of a rather literal translation.

⁴¹ This name *Baṭalīmūs* is also found in Yākūt al-Rūmī, *Mu'djam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1984²), I, p. 266.

⁴² The meaning of these words is unclear for the translator. They are probably related to the science of astrology.

⁴³ These lines about the foundation of Antioch are somewhat confusing. Antigonos founded the city of Antigonía, five miles northeast of the site of Antioch. Seleucus (= Sulaiman?) destroyed Antigonía and founded Antioch. See G. Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton, NJ, 1963), pp. 27-30; and from the same author, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, NJ, 1961), pp. 56-86.

expenditures for the city of Antioch in the period of its building until the time it was finished were four hundred and fifty qintār⁴⁴ gold. (5) In it is the body of Justus (Yustus), the disciple, who belonged to the twenty-seven. (6) There was in it the body of Thekla (Teklā), the Apostle, and disciple of the Apostle Paul (Būlus). She was thrown in this city to the lions and cast into the fire, but the Lord saved her, so that no injury affected her.

(7) In it [Antioch] the middle of the head of Peter (Buṭrus) and John (Yūhannā) was shaved by the Syrians on command of Decianus (Dakiyānūs), the king⁴⁵. (8) From it [Antioch] the [spreading of the] Gospel began and in Antioch the believers in Christ were called Christians⁴⁶. (9) The Muslims conquered it in the year twenty of the Hijra⁴⁷, under the leadership of Mu'āwiya Ibn Abī Sufiyān by the sword. There were killed seven thousand men of the Romans (al-Rūm)⁴⁸. (10) After this Mu'āwiya ruled over [the area] from Yathrib (Yatrib) to Damascus (Dimašq) and he had taken possession over many cities during forty years, of which he was a governor during twenty years⁴⁹. (11) He had gone to Cyprus (Qubrus) in the sea accompanied by a thousand seven hundred ships, filled with property, weapons and men.

II

Chapter

(12) Concerning Antioch, the Franks conquered it in the tenth hour of a night when the morning was glowing on a Thursday in the beginning of Ragab in the Lunar year four hundred and ninety-one⁵⁰ in the

⁴⁴ Qintār: a varying weight of 100 ratl (in Egypt = 44,93 kg, in Tunisia = 53,9 kg, in Syria = 256,4 kg).

⁴⁵ The presence of several apostles in Antioch is attested in Acts 11:22, 26; 14:26-28; 15:30, 35; 18:22-23; Gal. 2:11; see also Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, p. 32 (PO 7, p. 488). Shaving of the middle of the head of the Jews is mentioned in Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, p. 180 (PO 8, p. 440); about the death of Peter and Paul in Antioch, see Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, pp. 24, 37 (PO 7, pp. 480, 493). About the legend of the Apostles Peter, John and Paul in Antioch, see M. van Esbroeck, 'La légende des apôtres Pierre, Jean et Paul à Antioche', in *Oriens Christianus*, 78 (1994), pp. 64-85.

⁴⁶ Acts 11:26 and Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, p. 32 (PO 7, p. 488).

⁴⁷ 20 H = A.D. 641. (On p. 55, n. 1, in the second ed. of 2000 of Father Samuel (see n. 7), III, the date A.D. 621 is given, which must be an error.)

⁴⁸ The conquest of Antioch by Mu'āwiya is mentioned by Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, pp. 216-7 (PO 8, pp. 476-7). According to the *EI*, the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs took place in 637/638, see *EI*, I, p. 517.

⁴⁹ See Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, pp. 226, 233 (PO 8, pp. 486, 493).

⁵⁰ 491 H = A.D. 1098.

caliphate of al-Mustaʿlī [156a] and the vizierate of al-Afḍal Shāhinshāh⁵¹. (13) After this they conquered Jerusalem in Shaʿbān of the Arabic year four hundred and twenty-nine⁵². (14) The first patriarchate befell to Hādīmūs⁵³ in Antioch. The patriarchal see of Antioch remained vacant for twenty-five years during the empire of Maurice (Mawrīq)⁵⁴. (15) During the empire of the Ghuzz⁵⁵ a great earthquake took place in Antioch, in which thirty-two towers fell down from the Gate of the Sea (Bāb al-Baḥr) up to the Persian Gate (Bāb Fāris). Some of them sank down and the river Orontes (al-Nahr al-ʿĀṣī)⁵⁶ entered the city and split it in its centre⁵⁷.

III

(16) A church of the Syrian Jacobites in Antioch⁵⁸ was burnt in the beginning of the reign of al-Mustansīr Billāh⁵⁹ and the patriarchate of Shenouda (Šenūda), the sixty-fifth in number⁶⁰. (17) The reason for this was a quarrel between the priests of the church about its money. They apostatised as Chalcedonians Melkites and the Melkites intended to destroy this church and to burn it⁶¹. They took the Eucharist from it

⁵¹ Al-Mustaʿlī, Fatimid caliph from 1094-1102; Al-Afḍal Shāhinshāh, vizier from 1094-1121, see Leila al-Imad, *The Fatimid Vizierate, 969-1172*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 133 (Berlin, 1990), pp. 190-1.

⁵² 492 H = A.D. 1098/1099.

⁵³ Hādīmūs: corruption of Dominus? Another translation of this sentence could be: 'The first patriarchate for it became "Dimous" in Antioch', but this translation is less probable.

⁵⁴ Mauriq: Maurice, mentioned in Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, pp. 178-80 (PO 8, pp. 438-40). Patriarch Anastasius became patriarch after the death of Patriarch Dominus in A.D. 559. He became embroiled with the Emperor Justin II and was expelled in 570. He was kept in forced residence in Constantinople, until, during the reign of Maurice, after 23 years, he was reappointed to his patriarchate in 593. See Downey, *A History of Antioch* (see n. 43), pp. 559-61. This fact is also mentioned in the Life of Christodoulos, the 66th Coptic patriarch, written in the *History of the Patriarchs*, II, part 3, p. 320.

⁵⁵ For more information about the 'Ghuzz' see *EI*, II, pp. 1106-11.

⁵⁶ See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (see n. 34), p. 377.

⁵⁷ The description of this event seems to have been taken from the *History of the Patriarchs*, II, part 3, pp. 363-4. See also Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, p. 159 (PO 8, p. 419).

⁵⁸ This part of the text has been taken from the Life of Christodoulos, the 66th Coptic patriarch, written in the *History of the Patriarchs*, II, part 2, p. 240.

⁵⁹ The Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustansīr A.D. 1035-94.

⁶⁰ Shenute II was the 65th Coptic patriarch from A.D. 1032-46. This paragraph was taken from the *Life of Shenute the 65th patriarch*, written in the *History of the Patriarchs*, II, part 2, pp. 239-40.

⁶¹ Probably the author meant to say: They apostatised from their Jacobite faith to the Melkite faith.

[and] threw it in the sea. They punished the Syrians and arrested them and they caused them severe suffering. It is mentioned that their number was eleven thousand souls.

(18) Symeon (Sam'ān), the hermit, was in Antioch, who was a monk in the beginning. He lived in a hermitage on the Wondrous Mountain (al-Mu'gib)⁶².

IV

(19) Simon Peter (Sam'un al-Ṣafā)⁶³ built a church [156b] in the city of Antioch, and this is the church that is known as Cassianus (al-Qasīyān)⁶⁴, as confirmed by the History of al-Manbijī⁶⁵. He erected an altar inside it. This church is situated on the top of the mountain, at the west side. Formerly this was a house of prayer for the Jews. It is hanging and so is its lower part.

V

(20) Deir Ṣūrā

The top of the [stone? limitation?] is four days east of Antioch. In it thirty-four bishops and archbishops assembled and they appointed a patriarch for Antioch, called Lazarus (Al 'Āzir)⁶⁶.

⁶² Symeon the Stylite the Elder, c. A.D. 389-459, lived his ascetic life in the mountains east of Antioch. His body was buried in Antioch. Symeon the Stylite the Younger of the sixth century (A.D. 521-92) was born in Antioch and spent the greater part of his life on a column, but also lived for some time in a deserted place on the Wondrous Mountain. Here the text probably refers to Symeon Stylites the Younger. See P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592)*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 32, 2 vols (Brussels, 1962-70).

⁶³ Sam'un al-Ṣafā means Simon the Rock, this is Simon Peter, the Apostle. See the Bible, Mc. 3:16, Luk. 6:14, John 1:42. About his stay in Antioch, see Gal. 2:11.

⁶⁴ According to Le Strange this church is identical with the Church of St Peter and St Paul. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 371 (see note 34). A Church of Cassianus is mentioned by Downey, *A History of Antioch* (see n. 43), pp. 481, 657.

⁶⁵ Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, 2, pp. 22, 28, 29 (PO 7, pp. 478, 484, 485).

⁶⁶ See the Life of Christodoulos, the 66th Coptic patriarch, written in the *History of the Patriarchs*, II, part 3, p. 320. Lazarus refers to Patriarch Dionysius V Lazarus, Syriac-Orthodox patriarch from A.D. 1076-7. See K. Innemée and L. van Rompay, 'Project Report — Deir al-Surian (Egypt): New Discoveries of January 2000', in *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 3, nr. 2 (July 2000), chapter II, Syriac Inscriptions, paragraph 26-32; J. den Heijer, 'Relations between Copts and Syrians in the Light of Recent Discoveries at Dayr as-Suriæn', in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden August 27 — September 2, 2000*, ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet (Leuven, 2004), II, pp. 923-38.

VI

(21) The monastery that is known as Deir Aqbunias (Aqbūnīyās)⁶⁷, at which Theophanes⁶⁸ (Tāoufānīs), patriarch of Antioch, replacing Severus (Sāwīrus) the Great, sought refuge out of fear of the Chalcedonian Romans (al-Rūm), when they forbade him and the bishops to enter the city of Antioch, as they did in the city of Alexandria.

VII

(22) The church of Saint Thomas (Mārī Tūmā) in Antioch. In it is a church in which there is the body of Jacob the Persian the Sawn (Ya'qūb al-Fārisy al-Muqatta')⁶⁹.

VIII

(23) The church of the Martyr Susinus (Sūsiniyūs) is also in Antioch, whose Feast-day is held on the twenty-sixth of the month Barmūda⁷⁰. Aristochus (Aristūhus) built it after the death of Diocletian (Diqlādīyānūs)⁷¹, the unbeliever.

IX

(24) The body of this Aristochus was buried in his [Susinus?] house and [later] transported to this church.

⁶⁷ Deir Aqbūnīyās: this paragraph is taken from the Life of Peter IV, the 34th Coptic patriarch in the *History of the Patriarchs*, ed. B.T.A. Evetts, in PO 1, p. 208, in which this monastery is called: Monastery of Ammonius (?)

⁶⁸ Theophanes or Theophilus as the successor of patriarch Severus is unknown. See Downey, *A History of Antioch* (see n. 43), p. 516. Severus fled to Alexandria in A.D. 518, see idem, p. 513. See also E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle*, (CSCO 127; subs. 2) Louvain 1951; for the history of the 'monophysites' see W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1972.

⁶⁹ Jacob the Sawn = St James Intercisus, a Persian martyr of the third century, see T. Orlandi, 'James Intercisus, Saint', in *CE*, iv, p. 1321.

⁷⁰ Barmūda: eighth month of the Coptic calendar.

⁷¹ Diocletianus ruled A.D. 284-305.

X

(25) Church

Church of the Lady the pure Virgin, Saint Mary⁷².

XI

(26) In Antioch in the city walls above the Persian Gate (Bāb Fāris) [157a] is a church dedicated to Paul (Būlus), the Apostle⁷³. This city will not be conquered as long as this church is flourishing and the prayers and the holy Mass are continually being celebrated in it. When this stops, may God save us from that, the city will be judged and will be conquered by betrayal. (27) And in it is also the prison of Peter (Buṭrus) and John (Yūhannā). (28) A large church is built in Antioch for the seven who died as martyrs for the name of Christ⁷⁴. The reason for this was that Antiochus (Antiyāhūs), the king⁷⁵, the owner of Antioch, sent some of his companions with a large army to Jerusalem. (29) He took the Jews by deception on the twenty-fifth day of Kānūn al-Awwal⁷⁶. He entered the temple and blemished it and made above the altar in the temple Zeus (Zāwuš), the idol Olympius (Oulabfus), and he put his idols on the temple, as Daniel⁷⁷ (Dāniyāl) the prophet has prophesied, which is the aforementioned sign by which the destruction was sent back to him⁷⁸. (30) And he put on the Mountain Gerizim

⁷² See Downey, *A History of Antioch* (see n. 43), pp. 525, 552; Kennedy, *Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam* (see n. 34), p. 187.

⁷³ The Apostle Paul visited Antioch, see Acts 11:26; 13:1; 14:21,26-28; 15:30-35; 18:22-23. This church dedicated to St Paul is also mentioned by *Mas'ūdī: Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, A. Pavet de Courteille, C. Pellat, Publications de l'Université libanaise, section des études historiques, 11 (Beirut, 1966), II, p. 339, §1292 (text in Arabic). Translation in *Mas'ūdī, Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, A. Pavet de Courteille, C. Pellat, Société Asiatique, Collection d'ouvrages orientaux (Paris, 1965), II, p. 493, §1292. See also chapter XVIII paragraph 97 of this translation where the Church of St Paul is mentioned for the second time.

⁷⁴ See the story in the Bible, 2 Macc. 7. See Agapius, *Kitab al 'Unvan*, 1, pp. 241 (PO 11, pp. 113). This sanctuary had been erected in the fourth century at the place of a former synagogue. It contains the tombs of the seven sons, their mother and the old man Eleazar. See Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (see n. 34), p. 341.

⁷⁵ Antiochus IV (174-64 BC).

⁷⁶ Kānūn al-Awwal: the Syriac name for the month of December. The use of these Syriac names of the months could be considered as an indication for an influence of another origin than Coptic.

⁷⁷ See the Bible, Daniel 9.

⁷⁸ See 2 Macc. 6:1-2.

(Hūrīm) the idol of Zeus Xenius (Zūs Waksīyūs) and he burnt the books of the Law. He destroyed all the people of Israel until they agreed with his opinion. (31) Then Mattathias (Matatiyā), the son of Simeon (Šama‘ūn)⁷⁹, the priest from the tribe of Jonadab (Yūnādāb), stood up. He had five sons. Zeal and the fear of God and the Law of the Lord induced them. They were dressed in sackcloth and they were very sad. (32) When they came for their service, the unbelievers seized him [157b] and they brought him forward in order to sacrifice to their idols. (33) He saw a man of the Jews drawing near to those impure idols and that priest became furious and the zeal for God entered him. (34) He jumped on the Jewish man and he killed him and he killed the leader who had persecuted them because they should sacrifice to the idols. He destroyed that [unknown word: ṭumūh?] and fled to the mountain, he and those who had been protecting the Law. (35) The unbelievers seized an old man named Eleazar (al-‘Āzir) and punished him severely until he died. He had not sacrificed [to the idols] because of his keeping the Law of the Lord⁸⁰. (36) They seized a woman called Shamunit (Šamūnīt)⁸¹. She had seven sons who maintained the commandments of the Law of the Lord⁸². (37) So they seized that woman and her seven sons. They took the first of the seven brothers and they ordered him to offer up to the idols. (38) But he refused to do so and he said: ‘Far be it from us that we would sacrifice offerings to someone else than the Lord our God.’ (39) When he did not agree with them, they cut off his members from the edges of the joints and threw him in a kettle. They lit the fire beneath his body in front of his brothers and his mother in order to make them weak by what they saw. (40) Then they brought forward the second and they proposed him to agree with them in their opinion and to sacrifice to their idols so that would not happen to him what had happened to his brother. (41) But he said: ‘We shall only die in contentment of the Lord and we shall not agree with anything that makes Him angry.’ (42) And they stripped off the skin of his head and punished him severely. He died without having obeyed them. (43) They brought forward the third [and he presented to them his hands

⁷⁹ See 1 Macc. 2:1-27; Agapius, *Kitab al ‘Unvan*, 1, pp. 239-42 (PO 11, pp. 111-4). According to the Bible and also written in Agapius, Mattathias is the son of John, son of Simeon.

⁸⁰ See 2 Macc. 6:18-31

⁸¹ Shamunit: Ashmunith or Shamuni. See the Church of St Asmūnīt in this translation in chapter XXIV, paragraph 124, and Istamarīt in chapter XXV, paragraph 125.

⁸² See 2 Macc. 7.

and] his tongue⁸³ [158a] and they punished him until he died. They brought forward the fourth and punished him so that he died like his brothers had died in obedience to God. (44) Then they brought forward the fifth and they treated him with kindness in front of the king and the king promised him several promises and favours and frightened him for the punishment. (45) But he said to the king: 'My brothers are not more courageous than I in their acceptance of death for the religion of God. So hasten to bring death upon us, o king, and let us join each other in the love and the consent of God.' (46) So they punished him and he died. And the seven brothers and their mother died on one day and they did not abandon their faith. (47) This church was built for them in their name, because they sacrificed their souls to death like the three young men of the people of Israel, and their pure bodies were placed in this church. Every year a great festival is held in honour of them and a big market was built for the benefit of their church. (48) In that time the Jews broke the Sabbath when they wanted to fight them on Sabbath day. (49) In the year one hundred and forty-eight of the years of the Greeks also, Mattathias⁸⁴ (Matatīyā), the priest, died and after him Judas⁸⁵ (Yehūdā) was made leader of the Jews. He was the one who cleansed the temple from that [unknown word: ṭumūh] and evil⁸⁶. (50) And in the year one hundred and forty-nine of the Greeks, Antiochus (Antīyāhūs), the king of Antioch, died in the land of Persia severely suffering from great pains⁸⁷. (51) And the Romans (al-Rūm) destroyed Antioch in the land of Syria and enslaved the Jews⁸⁸. [158b] They received the tax (al-ḥarāğ) from them and they appointed governors to rule them. The first of them was a man called Isqatrus⁸⁹, the son of a man called Herodes (Hīrūdes) [who belonged] to the Nations. (52)

⁸³ There is probably a part missing in the text, because 2 Macc. 7:10-13 says about the third son: 'When it was demanded, he quickly put out his tongue and courageously stretched forth his hands, and said nobly, "I got these from Heaven, and because of God's laws I disdain them, and from Him I hope to get them back again." As a result the king himself and those with him were astonished at the young man's spirit, for he regarded his sufferings as nothing. After he too had died,...

⁸⁴ It is not clear from the text to which word 'also' refers. For Mattathias see 1 Macc. 2:49-70.

⁸⁵ According to the Bible it was Judas Maccabeus who became priest after the death of his father Mattathias. See 1 Macc. 3:1.

⁸⁶ See 2 Macc. 10:1-9.

⁸⁷ The death of Antiochus IV, see 2 Macc. 9.

⁸⁸ Agapius, *Kitab al 'Unvan*, 1, p. 250 ff. (PO 11, p. 122 ff.).

⁸⁹ Isqatrus: Herodes Antipater.

This Herodes (Hīrūdes), after the death of his son⁹⁰, went to Rome and from there he took up the reign over the Jews. (53) In the reign of this Herodes (Hīrūdes), the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ occurred and this Herodes (Hīrūdes) killed the children when the Magi came to him, their number was eleven hundred and forty-four children, in the eighth year of the reign of the Emperor Augustus (Augustus), the first of the kings of the Romans (al-Rūm), the Sabaeans,⁹¹ and he transported everything that was in Egypt to Rome. (54) In the year two hundred and seventy-five of the years of the Greeks, the kingdom and the priesthood of the Jews came to an end. (55) In the beginning of the year one hundred and forty-six of the Greeks, the aforementioned King Herodes (Hīrūdes) had ruled over the Jews for thirty-seven years⁹² and the prophecy of Jacob (Ya'qūb), the father of the tribes, was fulfilled: 'The seed from Juda nor the prophethood nor the priesthood will be cut off until the King comes from him. He is the one whom the people are waiting for and unto Him they shall gather.'⁹³ (56) In that time the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, occurred. Also the prophecy of the Prophet Daniel (Dānīyāl) was fulfilled, to whom Gabriel, the angel of the Lord, spoke about the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks⁹⁴, which makes four hundred and thirty⁹⁵, their beginning was [159a] in the year six of the reign of Darius (Dāriyūs)⁹⁶. (57) And Herodes (Hīrūdes) killed the priests of the Jews and he took the [kanwiya?]⁹⁷ of the priesthood, which no-one but the high priest should wear and he placed it under his hand and sealed it off and he did not allow anyone to be appointed in the priesthood for a full year. (58) After a short time he appointed Aristatalis (Aristātālīs), son of Hermanus (Hermānūs), brother of Maznah, as high priest. Then he killed him. (59) In the year forty-two of the reign of Augustus Caesar and in the reign of Herodes the thirty-fifth year, of the years of the Antiochenes

⁹⁰ According to Agapius, *Kitab al 'Unvan*, 1, p. 250 (PO 11, p. 122), Herodes went to Rome after the death of his father Antipater.

⁹¹ It is unclear why the author mentions the Sabaeans here.

⁹² Agapius, *Kitab al 'Unvan*, 1, p. 264 (PO 11, p. 136).

⁹³ Genesis 49:10.

⁹⁴ The Arabic word for weeks in '62 weeks' is different from the word in '7 weeks'. According to the Bible in both cases is meant: year weeks, weeks of years. See note in the Bible in Daniel 9:21-27.

⁹⁵ 62 weeks is $62 \times 7 = 434$ days!!

⁹⁶ According to Ezra 6:15 the building of the house of God was completed in the sixth year of the reign of Darius. The seven and sixty-two weeks refer to the vision revealed to Daniel by the Angel Gabriel concerning the people of Israel and Jerusalem, see Daniel 9:21-27.

⁹⁷ Perhaps a deformation of qalansuwa or qulansiya = cap of a monk?

forty-six years and of the years of the Greeks three hundred nine years, Joseph (Yūsuf), Mary's fiancé, travelled in order to register, as was prescribed that the heads [of the families] of the Hebrews should register, every one in his own city. Thus he registered in the house of his city⁹⁸. (60) In this year on the twenty-fifth of Kānūn al-Awwal⁹⁹ the birth of our Lord the Christ took place in Bethlehem in Judea.

XII

(61) Church of Luke (Lūqā)¹⁰⁰ the evangelist. His pure body is kept in it, placed in a marble basin hanging on four marble pillars. He belonged to its inhabitants [of Antioch] and he was a doctor. It is told that his body was transported to Constantinople.

XIII¹⁰¹

(62) Church of Ignatius (Aḡnāṭyūs)¹⁰², in which is his holy body. This Ignatius (Aḡnāṭyūs) was a patriarch. (63) In it there are hidden: the five books of the Torah; and the tomb of [159b] Ezra (ʿAzarā)¹⁰³ the priest, who renewed the books of the Torah and the Prophets, he was the fourteenth priest after Aaron (Hārūn); (64) and a garment of the Prophet Moses (Mūsā) and the fragments of the Tables he had broken; and the stick of Joshua (Yašūʿ), son of Nun¹⁰⁴ [nūn], with which he split the river Jordan; and the knife with which Jephthah slaughtered his daughter as a sacrifice to God without an [animal?]¹⁰⁵; and the key of the Ark of the Covenant, which was with Moses; and other mysterious things.

⁹⁸ ... in the house of his city: there is probably a word missing and in stead of 'house' 'Bethlehem' is meant. In that case this should be translated as: Thus he registered in Bethlehem, his city.

⁹⁹ Kānūn al-Awwal: Syriac name for the month of December.

¹⁰⁰ A church built above the house of St Luke is mentioned by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who travelled in this region in the thirteenth century. See *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. J. Laurent, (Leipzig, 1864), p. 173, l. 24.

¹⁰¹ This paragraph also occurs in the manuscript kept in the Vatican (Codex 286) and has been translated by De Lébédew, *Récits* (see n. 38), p. 85.

¹⁰² Ignatius: Bishop Ignatius, see Maraval, *Lieux saints* (see n. 34), p. 340; Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, (see n. 43), pp. 292 ff, 455.

¹⁰³ Ezra 7-10.

¹⁰⁴ Yašūʿ: Hoshea, son of Nun, who was called Joshua by Moses, see Numb. 13:16 and Joshua 3. According to the text in the Bible Joshua crossed the river Jordan in a miraculous way by the help of the Lord, but it was Jacob who used a stick to cross this river, see Gen. 32:11.

¹⁰⁵ Judges 11.

XIV

(65) Church of the Apostles (al-Hawāriyīn). Darianus (Dariyānūs) renewed its building by the hand of Aqoula (Aqūlā), his father-in-law. When the Greeks took it in possession they called it al-Hazardar (al-Hazārdār)¹⁰⁶. After this it returned to the Romans (al-Rūm) and was called Antioch.

XV

(66) Close to Antioch is the Black Mountain (al-Ġabal al-Aswad) and around it the Armenians have seven hundred monasteries, each of these with a round fortification and a tower and cells for the monks around these. And in it [the monastery] is a bishop with nearly four hundred monks, hermits and others.

XVI

(67) And a monastery called (Turb al-Mitraqa?) (Turb al-Miṭraqa), which also belongs to the Armenians. The body of Thoros (Turūs), the son of Leo (Lāwun)¹⁰⁷ is kept in it. It has a round fortification with around it the cells of the monks in which there are nine hundred monks, zealous and holy. (68) The Life of Cyril (Kīrillos)¹⁰⁸ the patriarch, who was the sixty-seventh in number, testified that Sulaimānī¹⁰⁹ the Arab deceived the people of Antioch and it [the city] was opened for him. (69) He entered it with his companions and killed [160a] a number of Christians and killed one of the priests. (70) He took for him [-self] so many possessions made of gold and silver that he weighed it with a steelyard

¹⁰⁶ Church of the Apostles or 'Apostolic Church' or 'Old Church', see Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, (see n. 43), p. 336, although Downey gives different information about the building of this church. Al-Hazardar: according to the edition of De Lébédew, *Récits* (see n. 38), p. 86, this was an enclosed area "Héazardur" which means in French: 'Cour des mille'.

¹⁰⁷ Thoros: this is probably Thoros II, son of Léon Gaban, Léon I. See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, (Paris, 1940), p. 360. This Thoros became the founder of the Armenian leadership of Cilicia.

¹⁰⁸ Cyril II was the Coptic patriarch from A.D. 1078-92 under the Caliph Al-Mustanşir (A.D. 1035-94). According to the text, this paragraph has been taken, although not literally, from the *History of the Patriarchs*, II, part 3, pp. 321-70.

¹⁰⁹ Sulaimānī: probably Sulayman ibn Qutulmish (d. 1086). He captured Antioch in 1084 and turned the cathedral into a mosque. See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, (see n. 107), p. 179 (here written as Soulaïmān); G. Leiser, 'Sulaymān b. Kutulmish', in *El*, IX (1997), pp. 825-6.

because of its large quantity. He took many things out of their treasuries, which were hidden in their places; they did not inform each other about them, with cunning and deception.

XVII¹¹⁰

(71) Chapter

Description of the building of Antioch¹¹¹. This is the great city built by Antiochus (Uṭiyāḥus), the king, in honour of Mars (al-Mirrīḥ), while he was in [two unknown words: manzilatin shurfatin?]. He took for her the horoscope and placed her at the eastside of the Bridge of the Fish, which is inside the eastern gate called the Persian Gate (Bāb Fāris) of the house of Mars (Mirrīḥ). (72) Next to it is a mysterious bath, which does not need a person to kindle the fire in order to heat its water. (73) Inside it is a temple, imposing of structure, for the veneration of the idols. Its length measures a hundred and twenty cubits in royal (malakī) cubits, in width it is likewise, and it is circular. Inside it are a hundred and twenty similar long columns made of pure white marble. It has two storeys, an upper and a lower one, and forty doors made of brass are opening into it. Its walls are plated with gold and its floor is tiled with pure marble. Outside it is a dome suspended on four arches, beautifully made, the like of which has not been seen before. Above it is an idol of a picture of Mars (al-Mirrīḥ) and under its feet a picture of Scorpio (al-'Aqrab). It is all made of golden brass. The length of the city walls [160b] is four miles, in width two miles.

(74) At the top of the mountain is a fortress in which he protects himself. Outside it is a watchtower, which cannot be approached by an [armoured wagon?], serving to observe from it anyone who leaves the city and who enters it, by day and night. (75) And there is a section outside its city walls and outside the section is a canal, which is seventeen cubits wide and its depth is the same. (76) Across the river are two bridges with towers and gates on which there are gatekeepers and guards. The number of the towers is a hundred and fifty-three (towers)

¹¹⁰ From this passage onwards up to paragraph 126 in chapter XXV, the text is very much similar to the description of Antioch in a manuscript kept in the Vatican (Codex 286) and translated by De Lébédew, *Récits* (see n. 38), pp. 71-86. See the introduction to this translation.

¹¹¹ The building of Antioch by King Antiochos is also mentioned in Breydy, *Euty-chius* (see n. 32), 45, p. 36; and by Yākūt al-Rūmī, *Mu'djam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1984²), I, pp. 266-9.

and its [bodies? are like that]. (77) And seven gates of which there are five large ones with iron doors and coated panels decorated with [two unknown words: al-makwiġa [?] al-muttadāhila] nails and two relatively small gates. (78) And seven large [unknown word: ʿawādī, probably: streams?] which throw the dirt of the city and its waters into the river beyond the valley which is called Khaskarout (Haskarūt) with a gate with an iron window toward the mountain, in which the floods of the valleys of the mountain enter, going down to the city. Over it are its bridges on which it enters and stays away when it is filled only a little bit with water. After this it goes out from beneath the wall from the small rooms with iron windows¹¹².

(79) The number of the craftsmen involved in working out the building of it [the city] were eight thousand eight hundred men and six hundred oxen and nine hundred donkeys not taking into account the building of the king's palace. It was finished together with the wall in a period of three and a half years. The king's palace and the other buildings were completed (80) and there were made [unknown word: maruddāt?] on it [161a] to hold fast the sand when the floods flow from the mountain to the city. And a watchtower was made outside the fortress and guardians were stationed in it to keep watch night and day.

(81) The water flowed to it from the sources in the mountain originating from the well al-Bulit (al-Būlīt) in a period of a hundred days. A clearance was done at the headwater and made on it [unknown word: šūriya] on which was spent an amount of money as was written in the copy¹¹³: fifteen qinṭār. (82) And they made tables for the craftsmen and the servants and the gatekeepers of entrances, and vaults and seats and floors with what is suitable for each of them.

(83) Around Antioch there are seven cities. The total costs of — according to what is written in the copy — for the building of Antioch and the making of the [unknown word: al-šūriya] at the headwater which got it from the well al-Bulit (al-Būlīt) was four hundred and fifty qinṭār of money. (84) There were made four talismans, one of them on a tower that is known as the Tower of the Snail (Halazūn), driving away the bed wants, preventing any of them to enter the city. (85) The second is on the Persian Gate (Bāb Fāris), on the eastside of the city, in the form of the predatory animals, protecting the inhabitants of the city from any

¹¹² This passage seems to describe the water supply of the city by locks, bridges or viaducts/aqueducts and canals.

¹¹³ Obviously the author here used a manuscript, but it is not clear which manuscript. See also paragraph 83.

harm by night. (86) The third is on the Western Gate (al-Bāb al-Ġarbī) and it stops the storms of the wind, in view of the fact that they usually blew away the roofs of high houses and it could happen that they hit with their power a weak wall and threw it down. (87) The fourth is on a dome in the centre of the great market. On this dome is a picture of a girl. If someone is afflicted in his eye by a disease and he washes this picture with old wine and slaughters for her some bird and burns incense beneath her, his eye will be healed, God, most high, permitting. [161b]

(88) Seven markets were built in it, all over the city, some of them roofed and some without a roof. The palace of the king is in its centre, with marble columns of red and white marble and veined marble and miraculous idols. It has seven high gates made of iron covered with red gold and on every gate is an idol which stops the horses of the armies from whinnying or fooling around or prancing or snorting. (89) It has houses for the wise men, who interpret the talismans and other things, and houses for the dīwāns and the judges and the rulers. (90) In the house of the wise men there is a dome with a height of a hundred cubits and in it is a picture of the celestial sphere and the circulating stars and the constellations and the houses. In it are the movements of the sun and the moon. (91) On the outside of the dome is a picture of a little boy. If a boy is stupid and does not acquire knowledge, they bring him to that picture and they wash it and they give the boy to drink from that [water], then his mind will be put in order and he will acquire knowledge, God, most high, permitting. (92) On the wall of the hall of wisdom are the pictures of all the crafts and its craftsmen working in these. If a man wants to teach his child a craft in which he will be successful, he brings him to those pictures and any picture at which the boy stops and looks at and places his hand on, his father will hand him over to someone qualified in that craft and he will be successful in it in the shortest possible time, God, most high, permitting.

(93) Between the two marketplaces is a marble pillar with a height of twenty-one cubits. [162a] The picture of a snake is painted on it. Anyone who has been bitten by a snake of whatever kind of the kinds of snakes, rushes to the picture of this snake and washes it with cow's milk and drinks that milk, he will be cured from the poison of that snake by the power of God most high. (94) At the outside of the picture is a staircase of rocks, a place that is called the House of Mars (Bait al-Mirrīh). Above it is a stone on which the picture of an idol is written called 'The Wailing-Woman'. When anyone slaps a boy of the city and he cries very much, his mother brings him walking barefoot to that idol and she burns

incense in front of the idol and she rubs the boy's face on its feet, [and] he will be healed, God, most high, permitting. (95) Outside the gate leading to the sea there is a talisman on which a sign appears when a ship belonging to the people of Antioch alone got broken in the sea.

XVIII

(96) Chapter

In the wall of this city at the west side at the foot of the mountain a tower is situated, called in Hebrew 'al-Inhibat(?) (al-Inhibāt?) (al-Inbiṣat). Anyone who sleeps in that tower during seven days of Nīsān¹¹⁴, will see in his dream everything that he wants to happen to him in that year.

(97) In the wall of the city above the Persian Gate (Bāb Fāris) is a church dedicated to Paul (Būlus), the Apostle.

XIX

(98) Above it is a tower that is known as the Hinderer One (al-Māni'), beneath which there is a cave and in front of that cave is a copper talisman that holds back the water. If it weren't there, the city would be submerged. (99) In it [the city], between the two mountains, is a well, called [162b] Ardasia (Ardāsiyā), whose water streams down into a huge valley. In that water is a specialty against pain in the belly. (100) In the [unknown word: sanbuk? (slope?)] of the mountain is a cave which is known as the hermitage of Thekla (Taqlah)¹¹⁵. Everyone caught by a fever, who takes a bath in it with the water from the aforementioned well, will be healed, God, most high, permitting. (101) In its mountain is a house for the water, which is called Balutis (Balūṭis) and that is al-Bulit (al-Būlīt). Water comes out from a massive stone. Whoever takes a bath in it during twenty-five days of Ādār¹¹⁶, will take advantage of it against leprosy and Hansen's disease, God, most high, permitting. (102) In this city is also a canal with streaming water, whose water is fresh and sweet. Whoever drinks from it during twenty-five days of Kānūn al-Awwal¹¹⁷ will be safe from colic pain, God, most

¹¹⁴ Nīsān: the Syriac name for the month of April.

¹¹⁵ St Thekla is known from the apocryphal 'Acta Pauli et Theclae'.

¹¹⁶ Ādār: Syriac name for the month of March.

¹¹⁷ Kānūn al-Awwal: Syriac name for the month of December.

high, permitting¹¹⁸. (103) In it is a tower, called al-Kārūs, situated at the west side, and it is a massive rock. Whoever places his head on that rock during nine days of the month Ādār¹¹⁹, will be saved from headache, God, most high, permitting. (104) In it is a palace that is known as al-Maṣāylā and the explanation of the word is 'the centre of the city' and in it is a spiral staircase. (105) Above it is

XX

an unknown church, which looks out over the city. Above its dome is a yellow copper statue of a person. If a thief moves in the city it whistles very loud and the people of the city hear it and everybody checks his situation and that thief will be found. (106) Around this city are seven cities as was said before. (107) The first of these runs parallel to the city [163a] and it has castles and a lighthouse to which the people of the city go out for pleasure. (108) The second, on the way to the sea, is called Ābānyā and in it is a church named after Yūhannā al-Mayly. (109) The third is near the gate that opens out onto the fields at the Gate of the Sea (Bāb al-Baḥr) and is called Gate of the Gardens (Bāb al-Ġinān) and it lies at the Orontes (al-Nahr al-Maqlūb, i.e. the inverse river) and it is also called Sīnūris. (110) In it is a theatre with a length of three hundred qaṣaba¹²⁰ and its width measures two hundred and fifty qaṣaba. In it are seventy-two red marble columns, at each side thirty-six columns. In the middle of it is a column with a length of thirty-three cubits and its circumference measures eleven cubits. (111) On it stands a statue of a horseman made of magnetic stone. He and his horse are attached on that column with ropes to some of the columns around him. (112) If the people of the city want to petition the king and praise him, they take a boy and let him ride a horse made of wood plated with iron, and they come with the boy toward this horseman. Then he pulls him and lifts him up to him, because of the iron with which the wooden horse is plated. The people come together [in] this theatre and they listen to the sermon of the king and they rejoice and they are happy on that day. When he has finished, he holds those fastened ropes and the people of the city support him until he comes down and that is very astonishing. [163b]

¹¹⁸ This paragraph 102 is missing in the edition of Father Samuel (see n. 7), III, p. 63, l. 8.

¹¹⁹ Ādār: Syriac name for the month of March.

¹²⁰ Qaṣaba: a linear measure (Eg. = 3.55 m).

XXI

(113) The fourth city is above [unknown word¹²¹]. It has twelve springs. The depth of each of the springs is unknown. The people of the city had cisterns under the ground for it. So if the water sinks, they open a canal from which the water flows to them into the city. And therefore they do not worry about who will beleaguer them.

XXII

(114) The fifth is at the eastside and the southside of the wall at the lowest part of the mountain. It is called Saryābīs. When King Nāwūṭūris besieged them, there was in it a talisman. If someone besieges the city, they perfume it with good incense and [unknown word: šu't?] and sand pours down on the besiegers so that they turn away fleeing.

XXIII

(115) The sixth city is white of a splendid whiteness, beautiful, wide, with many gardens and the lighthouse. It is situated on top of the mountain near the [elevated place?]. Its length is six hundred and thirty-five qaṣaba, its width is two hundred and eighty qaṣaba. In it is a talisman against snakes. No reptile stays in it, neither can it enter it nor is it seen in it by no means at all. (116) In the middle of it are two columns. When the death of the king approaches, they come near to each other and from this his death is known. (117) The seventh city is called Tarasis (Aṭrās[īs]).

(118) Around this city is a river called al-Kardūs. Across it, at the northern side, is a bridge and on it are two black stones with on one of the two the statue of a dragon and the other one has the likeness of [164a] a woman and her legs are like those of an animal; she prevents the vermin and the female demons to come near the city. (119) Before it was there, nobody was able to live in the city because of the destructive vermin that attacked it from the mountain and bit the people so that many of them died. Therefore the people of the city asked Bīlnyās, the wise man, and he made for them this talisman and painted it on the two columns. Thus the vermin no longer came near the city until this very

¹²¹ The text gives: *munšar* (?), which is probably a corruption of *munšā'a* (which means: foundation).

day. (120) And there was a dragon with a huge body, dreadful, with a terrible appearance, that came out of the mountain at unknown times and entered and appeared in some of the houses of the city. And then those who were at home died from seeing him. The people fled from the city, when they heard about him that he appeared in the city or in some of the houses. (121) When the wise man made the picture of the dragon on one of the pillars and painted on it the talisman, the dragon no longer appeared in the city until this very day. (122) This dragon appeared also in some of the gardens and the vineyards and destroyed whatever he passed by and spoiled its fruits and the people fled away from there. The people obtained from him, because of the damage, a difficult matter. But ever since the wise man placed this talisman, he no longer appeared in any of the areas of the city and neither on its ground at all¹²². Living and staying became pleasant, inside [164b] and outside the city. (123) The wise man ordered the people of the city to wash the talisman of the dragon every year and the idol of the vermin and to sprinkle the four corners of the city so that they would be safe from the appearance of the dragon and the vermin in their city. For this a special day in the year was fixed, on which they cleanse the picture of the dragon and the other picture. The situation has lasted like this until this very day.

XXIV

(124) Chapter. In this city there is a castle that the people made, after they believed in Christ, glory be to Him,

XXV

into a church dedicated to Saint Asmūnīt¹²³. At first it was a house of prayer for the Jews at the top of the mountain at the west side. And it is suspended beneath it, just like it, and in hidden places in its walls the five Books of the Torah are kept, containing the great Name that rises from the Torah, so they would not find it. (125) In it is a house beneath the church into which one may come down by a staircase. In it is the tomb of

¹²² Literally: in sufficient totality

¹²³ Asmūnīt: probably the same saint as mentioned before in the passage about the Church of the Seven Martyrs, chapter XI, paragraph 36. This church is also mentioned by Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or* (see n. 73), II, p. 493, §1292 (trans.).

Ezra (‘Azarā)¹²⁴, the priest, and the body of Istamarīt¹²⁵, the mother of the seven sons who became martyrs on one and the same day, they and their mother, in front of Antiochus (Antīyāhūs), the unbelieving king. They did not forsake the religion of God and the commandments of His Law. They belonged to the people of Israel. And the three martyred young men who did not obey the order of Nebukadnesar (Baḥtnaṣr), the king, and threw themselves in the oven of fire, out of love of and obedience to God. Those martyrs belonged to the people of Israel exclusively. [165a] (126) After the death of Antiochus (Antīyāhūs), the king, the Greeks raided it [the city] and ruled it and called it al-Hazārdār. They built within the Persian Gate (Bāb Fāris) a palace for the king and around it a thousand houses for the high personnel of the king and for his soldiers. After this it became part of the empire of the Romans (al-Rūm)¹²⁶. (127) In Antioch was the beginning of [the spreading of] the Gospel of Christ, glory be to Him, by the announcement and preaching of Peter (Buṭrus) and John (Yūhannā), the son of Zebedee (Zabadī). The king was Decianus (Dakiyānūs) and he ordered to beat them and to shave their hair and to torture them in the city and to lock them up in prison¹²⁷. The prison has become famous because of them¹²⁸ up till now. (128) Then Paul (Būlus), the Apostle, followed them in the holy preaching. They let happen many miracles and wondrous signs and they brought many people back to the faith.

In this city is also a well now known as Paul’s (Būlus) spring. (129) One of the miracles performed by the apostles was that they raised Cassianus (Qasīyānūs) from the dead, the son of the king, after he had died and had been buried in the coffin for three months. Peter (Buṭrus) made him appear from the grave alive, and seized his hand and walked with him in the king’s palace, alive and speaking¹²⁹. When the queen his mother and the royal personnel of the kingdom and the prominent people of the state and all the people saw this miracle performed by Peter (Buṭrus), they all let themselves be baptized and they believed in our Lord Jesus Christ. (130) Their baptism took place in a water pool that God made flow for Peter (Buṭrus) at the same hour¹³⁰ in which he signed

¹²⁴ Ezra 7-10; see above in chapter XIII, paragraph 63 and n. 103.

¹²⁵ Istamarit: probably identical with Asmūnīt, see n. 123.

¹²⁶ End of the passage that shows similarities with MS Vatican 286. See the introduction to the translation and note 110.

¹²⁷ This event is mentioned earlier, in chapter I, paragraph 7-8.

¹²⁸ I.e. by their names. This prison is mentioned earlier in chapter XI, paragraph 27.

¹²⁹ This church and St Peter are mentioned earlier, see chapter IV, paragraph 19.

¹³⁰ Literally: at one hour

everybody with the oil of the chrism. [165b] Peter (Buṭrus) hit softly with a stick on the ground and water flowed from it and it became a wide pool. And Peter (Buṭrus) baptized them in it. And he appointed priests among them. (131) They built a very large church and they made altars and celebrated on it to God and they offered to the Lord the offerings of bread and wine. They became again believers in Christ, glory be to Him, and they obtained the crowns of salvation by the holy mystery of Baptism.

XXVI

(132) Chapter

This city is moderate with respect to its climate and in it are springs with sweet water streaming continuously. The salty sea is near to it and the sweet lake is to its east. (133) At the top of the mountain, inside it is a strong fortress at the Orontes (al-Nahr al-Maqlūb, i.e. the inverse river) outside the city walls. Many boats come and go to this fortress with crops and other things that are needed, because it belongs to the inaccessible fortresses to which refuge is taken against siege by armies. Nobody is able to conquer it unless God wills, praise be to Him. (134) It is situated at a distance of two days from the direction of Darkous (Darkūs).

XXVII

(135) Chapter. It is told that the number of the aforementioned monasteries in the Black Mountain that belong to the Armenians was seven hundred monasteries, inhabited by bishops, priests, monks, hermits, solitaries (hermits), apart from the monasteries that are not mentioned due to the fact that their inhabitants are a few monks. (136) In each of these are [from] ten monks up to a larger number of them that is innumerable, which all surround the city of Antioch [166a] and Caesarea (Qaisāriya) and Mar'ash (Mar'aš) and Tarsus (Ṭarsūs) and Cilicia (Qilīqiyā) and their surroundings.

[...]

[169a]

[...]

XXVIII

(137) The city of Antioch. In it is a church of Saint Andronicus (Andrunīqūs), which walls glitter with a fine oil that is finer than perfume and more delicious than honey and healthier than medical care; moreover there are miracles that happen through it, consisting of healing the sick and chronically sick people and those who are afflicted by unclean spirits.

XXIX

(138) A church erected by Simon Petrus (Sam'ūn al-Ṣafā), head of the disciples in Dār al-Qasiyān, who raised his son from the dead¹³¹. This is the first church that was built in the first year of [the reign of] Claudius (Aqlūdīyūs), king of Rome¹³².

XXX

(139) A church of Our Lady the Pure Virgin¹³³. In it is an icon with a picture of her similar to the drawing of the disciple Luke (Lūqā) the evangelist, that he accomplished by his hand during her life¹³⁴. The picture of Christ carried by her was lacking. (140) But when the Pure Virgin saw it she [did not!] approved of it and she said to him: 'This is a picture without power.' So he painted on it the picture of Our Lord Jesus Christ in her arms. After this she saw it and she said: It now appeared to me that there is power in it.

[...]

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

– *Histoire Universelle écrite par Agapius*, ed. A. Vasiliev, part 1¹ in PO 5, fasc. 4; part 1² in PO 11, fasc. 1; part 2¹ in PO 7, fasc. 4; part 2² in PO 8, fasc. 3.

¹³¹ This church is mentioned earlier twice, see the chapter IV, paragraph 19, and chapter XXV, paragraph 129.

¹³² Claudius I (41-54 AD), see Downey, *A History of Antioch* (see n. 43), pp. 195-8.

¹³³ This church is mentioned earlier, see chapter X, paragraph 25.

¹³⁴ The presence of a picture of St Mary in the church is also attested by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who travelled in this region in the thirteenth century. See *Peregrinatores* (see n. 100), p. 172, l. 18.

- Graf, *GCAL* = G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, *Studi e Testi*, 133 (Vatican, 1944-7).
- *History of the Patriarchs* = *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church*, by Sawirus ibn al-Mukaffa' bishop of al-Ašmūnīn, Coll. Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Textes et Documents, trans. by A.S. Atiya, Y. 'Abd al-Masih and O.H.E. Burmester (Cairo, 1943-74).

THE MILITARY ORDERS IN THE CRUSADER PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH

JOCHEN BURGTORF*

The *Rule of the Templars*, in a section on penance most likely written between 1257 and 1268, relates the following episode:

For it happened in Antioch that a brother who was named Brother Paris, and two other brothers who were in his company, killed some Christian merchants; so was the thing known by others, and they were asked why they had done such a thing, and they replied that sin had made them do it. And the commander made them plead for mercy, and their sentence was deferred; and the failing came before the convent, and they were sentenced to be expelled from the house and flogged throughout Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre and Acre. Thus they were flogged and cried, 'See here the justice which the house exacts from its wicked men', and they were put in perpetual imprisonment at Château Pèlerin, and died there¹.

The fate of Brother Paris and his companions raises several questions: What was the relationship between Antiochene Templars and merchants? Were these 'Christian' merchants Western Christians, local Latin Christians or Eastern non-Latin Christians? Why was the local Templar commander so obviously negligent in sentencing the brothers for their crime? What was the extent of the central convent's judicial authority over the order's provinces? Questions such as these, to some of which we can only guess the answers, lead us to the topic of this paper, namely the military orders in the crusader principality of Antioch.

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article

¹ *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, pp. 289-90, no. 554: 'Car il avint en Antyoche que I frere qui avoit a nom frere Paris, et dui autre frere qui estoient en sa compagnie, firent tuer marcheants crestiens; si fu la chose seue par autres, et on lor dist por quoi il avoient fait tel chose, et il respondirent que pechiés lor avoit fait faire. Et le comandor lor fist crier merci, et furent mis en respit; et vint la faille devant le covent, et lor fu esgardé a perdre la maison et qu'il fussent frustés par Antyoche et a Triple et a Sure et en Acre. Ensi furent frustés et crioient: 'Vés ici la justise qui prent la maison de ces mauvais homes'; et furent mis en prison perpetuel a Chastiau pelerin, et la morurent.' For the English translation used above, see *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. J. Upton-Ward, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion*, 4 (Woodbridge, 1992; reprint 1997), p. 144, no. 554; see *ibid.*, 16 (date).

This paper will focus on the Templars and Hospitallers. While other military orders, such as the Teutonic Knights, St Lazarus, Santiago and Calatrava, did have Antiochene connections as well, these connections were comparatively insignificant and will only be mentioned briefly here.

What types of sources are available for this investigation? As evidenced by the story of Brother Paris, the Templars' and Hospitallers' normative texts, their rules and statutes, contain some information². Fortunately, considerable parts of the Hospitallers' central archives have survived; thus, there are some charters and letters pertaining to their activities in Antioch, many of them published in Joseph Delaville Le Roulx's monumental *Cartulaire*³. Rudolf Hiestand's research has brought to light an important supplement, namely the *Inventaire de Manosque*, a catalogue compiled in 1531, which registers over 1,100 twelfth and thirteenth-century charters and thereby offers an excellent overview of the documents still available in the sixteenth century (many have been lost since)⁴. The *Inventaire* gives us an idea about the number of copies of individual documents that found their way into the central archives, which suggests something about the importance the order ascribed to certain privileges or transactions⁵. The *Inventaire* is even more important because it contains a number of references to the Templars. Unfortunately, the Templars' central archives are lost⁶, and neither the 71 volumes of transcriptions of documents, most of them from the French provinces, compiled by the Marquis André d'Albon in the early twentieth

² For the Hospitallers' rule and statutes, see *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, *passim*. For the Templars' normative texts, see *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon. A new edition of the Templars' so-called 'primitive' rule is in preparation; see S. Cerrini, 'La tradition manuscrite de la règle du Temple: Études pour une nouvelle édition des versions latine et française', in *Autour de la première croisade*, ed. M. Balard, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 14 (Paris, 1996), pp. 203-19; S. Cerrini, 'A New Edition of the Latin and the French Rule of the Temple', in *The Military Orders*, II, *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 207-15. For the Catalan fragment of the *Rule of the Templars*, see now the first complete edition *Catalan Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward.

³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*. For the history of the Hospitallers' central archives, see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, I, pp. 12-38.

⁴ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte, 56 H 68, *Inventaire de Manosque, a. 1531* (MS s. XVI). For this important inventory of charters, see Hiestand, II, p. 19. I would like to thank Professor Hiestand for allowing me to use his transcription of the *Inventaire*.

⁵ With regard to the papal documents, this can be seen in Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 19-28.

⁶ See R. Hiestand, 'Zum Problem des Templerzentralarchivs', *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 76 (1980), pp. 17-38.

century⁷, nor the increasing number of editions of Western cartularies⁸ can make up for this loss. The Templars' trial records are almost entirely useless for the purposes of this investigation⁹. With regard to the narrative sources, the 'Muslim' sources seem to outweigh the 'Christian' sources when it comes to the quantity and quality of information¹⁰. For example, one gets a much better idea about the events of late twelfth-century northern Syria from the work of Salāh-ad-Dīn's secretary 'Imād-ad-Dīn al-Isfāhānī¹¹ than from the continuations of the chronicle of William

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1-71, *Collection d'Albon* (MS s. XX). Regarding the *Collection d'Albon*, see H. Omont, 'Nouvelles acquisitions (1921-1923) du département des manuscrits', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 85 (1924), pp. 11-6; E.G. Léonard, *Introduction au Cartulaire manuscrit du Temple (1150-1317) constitué par le Marquis d'Albon et conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale suivie d'un tableau des maisons françaises du Temple et de leurs précepteurs: Galliarum militiae Templi domorum earumque preceptorum series secundum apographa in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi asservata* (Paris, 1930).

⁸ Scholars on the Iberian peninsula, for example, have recently published several important cartularies: J.M. Sans i Travé, *Collecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212)*, Textos jurídics catalans, Documents, 1 (Barcelona, 1997); R. Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Gardeny (1070-1200)*, 2 vols, Fundació Noguera, Diplomataris, 16 and 17 (Lleida, 1999); L. Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les terres de l'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Ordre (1213-1312)*, 2 vols (Tarragona, 1999).

⁹ With regard to Templars from the principality of Antioch, there may be a handful of references in the trial records, which probably has to do with the fact that almost 40 years elapsed between the fall of Antioch (1268) and the beginning of the trial of the Templars (1307). In 1310 on Cyprus, to cite just one of these rare examples, the Templar sergeant Peter of Tripoli stated that he had been received into the order at La Roche de Guillaume ('in domo dicti ordinis, que est in Rocca Guillelmi, sita in Armenia') around 1288 by Brother Simon of Farabello, who was then commander of Armenia. Originally, La Roche de Guillaume probably belonged to the Templar province of Antioch, but that province ceased to exist in 1268. In his deposition, Peter of Tripoli also mentioned the three Templars who had been present at his reception (the two knights Gerald of Laperusa and Michassius Porcardus, and an English priest named William). See K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen* — I.1, *Darstellender Teil*, I.2, *Kritischer Teil*, II.3, *Urkunden* (Berlin, 1887), here II.3.2, p. 206; A. Trudon des Ormes, 'Liste des maisons et de quelques dignitaires de l'ordre du Temple en Syrie, en Chypre et en France d'après les pièces du procès', *ROL*, 5 (1897), pp. 389-459; 6 (1898), pp. 156-213; 7 (1900), pp. 223-74, 504-89, here 5, p. 426; L. Imperio, *Il tramonto dei templari — Il processo di Cipro: uomini e vicende dell'Ordine nei suoi ultimi anni di vita* (Rome, 1992; reprint 1996), p. 112, no. 60.

¹⁰ William of Tyre, for example, treated the Antiochene affairs in a rather cursory fashion; see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 6-7. William did, however, pay some attention to the Antiochene patriarchs; see P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series (Cambridge, 1988), *passim*.

¹¹ 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, ed. H. Massé, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des

of Tyre¹². Finally, and it has to be emphasized that this tour of sources is far from complete, there is the archeological evidence. The ruins of the military orders' northern Syrian strongholds, such as the Templars' Gaston (Baghrās) and the Hospitallers' Margat (al-Marqab), survive¹³, and it seems reasonable to assume that coins (and maybe even some seals) will continue to be found¹⁴. The sources are scattered, but they do add up.

The military orders in the principality of Antioch have received some scholarly attention, but they have yet to be made the focus of a comprehensive and comparative scholarly analysis (which can certainly not be the claim of this article). Claude Cahen's *La Syrie du Nord* (1940) refers to them often and devotes a short chapter to them, including a first survey of the Hospitallers' Antiochene property on the basis of Delaville Le Roulx's *Cartulaire*¹⁵. Jonathan Riley-Smith's *Knights of St. John* (1967) and Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele's authoritative study on the masters of the Temple (1974) constitute an invaluable basis for future research, particularly Riley-Smith's chapters on 'The Material Assets of the Hospitallers in Syria'¹⁶ and Bulst-Thiele's detailed references to individual Templars and Templar properties¹⁷. Hans Eberhard Mayer's *Varia Antiochena* (1993) contain masterful analyses of documents pertaining to the Hospitallers' activities in the principality¹⁸. The military orders' castles continue to fascinate historians and archeologists. In addition to Paul Deschamps' groundbreaking work on crusader-period fortifications in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch (1973)¹⁹, Hugh Kennedy's *Crusader Castles* (1994) constitutes a superb synthesis of

Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1972), pp. 127-48, where twenty pages are reserved for Salāh-ad-Dīn's conquests in 1188.

¹² *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. M.R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 14 (Paris, 1982), pp. 57-9 (three pages) dedicated to Salāh-ad-Dīn's conquests in 1188.

¹³ Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 62-97, 120-79.

¹⁴ M. Metcalf, 'Crusader Gold Bezants of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Two Additional Sources of Information', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 160 (2000), pp. 203-18, here pp. 208-9 with n. 14. For the implications of the discovery of papal lead bulls in the Holy Land, see R. Hiestand, 'Methodische und sachliche Probleme des Oriens Pontificius', in *Hundert Jahre Papsturkundenforschung: Bilanz — Methoden — Perspektiven*, ed. R. Hiestand, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge*, 261 (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 245-63, here pp. 252-8.

¹⁵ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*.

¹⁶ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 421-69.

¹⁷ Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*.

¹⁸ Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*.

¹⁹ Deschamps, *Châteaux*.

recent scholarship and field work²⁰. The next generation of researchers is now beginning to climb onto the shoulders of these scholarly giants. Paul L. Sidelko's study on the landed estates of the Hospitallers in the Latin East (1998)²¹ and Balazs Major's archeological research in Syria and Lebanon²² point the way.

This article will address four main points which, taken together, will hopefully amount to a draft of a 'general historical survey'. In an attempt to comply, four main points will be addressed which, taken together, will hopefully amount to a draft of such a survey. First, the origins of the military orders in Antioch, their organization in the principality and how this organization fit into their orders' general structure will be examined. An assessment of the diverse roles they played — as administrators, defenders and quarrellers — follows. Thirdly, we will turn to the orders' castles, most notably the Templars' Gaston and the Hospitallers' Margat. Last, but not least, the prosopography of the orders' Antiochene officials will be discussed. This paper intends to show that there is still work to be done with regard to the history of the military orders in the crusader principality of Antioch.

1. *Origins and Organization*

It comes as no surprise that the Hospitallers were present in the crusader principality of Antioch long before the arrival of the Templars. They were, after all, the older institution, albeit not the older 'military order'²³. According to Hans Prutz (1908), the Hospitallers' position in Antioch developed 'most splendidly', as they, in fact, got to develop some sort of *Ordensstaat* (order's state) in northern Syria²⁴. They began

²⁰ Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*.

²¹ P.L. Sidelko, 'The Acquisition of the Landed Estates of the Hospitallers in the Latin East, 1099-1291' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1998).

²² B. Major, 'Al-Malik al-Mujahid, Ruler of Homs, and the Hospitallers (The Evidence in the Chronicle of Ibn Wasil)', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 61-75. B. Major (Piliscsaba and Cardiff) has done field work in Syria and Lebanon for the past seven years.

²³ For the scholarly debate regarding the Hospital's militarization and a new assessment of the order's first constable, see J. Burgtorf, 'Leadership Structures in the Orders of the Hospital and the Temple (Twelfth to Early Fourteenth Century): Select Aspects', in *Crusades and the Military Orders*, ed. Hunyadi and Laszlovszky (see n. 22), pp. 379-94, here pp. 379-82 and p. 390 with n. 10.

²⁴ H. Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur kirchlichen, politischen, gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1908;

early: on 4 June 1118, Prince Roger of Antioch confirmed all donations that he and his predecessor, Prince Bohemond I, had made to the Hospitallers. In the charter, before the actual listing of some of these donations, we encounter a phrase which indicates that the extent of the Hospitallers' possessions was already considerable: 'tam de casalibus quam de villanis, sive de domibus ac de terris, et de omnibus que ad utilitatem pertinent hominum' (casalia and villeins, houses and plots, and all things that pertain to the use of men)²⁵. In 1127, Prince Bohemond II added a particularly lucrative aspect to this by stipulating that, henceforth, the Hospitallers' properties in the principality were to be free from all taxes²⁶. This may not have seemed like a 'big deal' in 1127, but as donations to the Hospitallers continued, the Antiochene princes saw their own income in serious jeopardy and had to make sure that those who held property from the Hospitallers would not extend this privilege of tax exemption to themselves²⁷. The first Antiochene Hospitaller official appears in 1151 in a charter issued at Latakia by Princess Constance, namely a 'frater Wilhelmus, qui tunc temporis in Antiochenis finibus domibus Hospitalis preerat'²⁸, and this title indicates that he was in charge of several houses within the principality, i.e. more than just the commander of the order's houses in the city of Antioch. The order's presence in the principality entered into a new phase in 1187, when the Hospitallers acquired the castle and lordship of Margat²⁹. According to Riley-Smith, this led to a 'reorganization of administration in the area'³⁰, and the castellan of Margat became one of the order's most highly regarded officials in the

reprint Darmstadt and Bielefeld, 1968), pp. 52-3: 'Am glänzendsten aber entwickelte sich die Stellung des Ordens im Fürstentum Antiochien, wo er eine Art von Ordensstaat errichtete.'

²⁵ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 45; *RRH*, no. 86; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 553. See also T.S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 130, 151, 157.

²⁶ R. Hiestand, 'Ein unbekanntes Privileg Fürst Bohemunds II. von Antiochia für das Hospital vom März 1127 und die Frühgeschichte der antiochenischen Fürstenkanzlei', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 43 (1997), pp. 27-46, here pp. 44-46 (edition): 'Praeterea concedo supranominato Hospitali libertatem talem de rebus suis, ut res eius libere et quiete sint in tota terra mea intrando et exeundo ab omni consuetudine dandi aliquid et omni exactione curiae.'

²⁷ See, for example, *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 390; *RRH*, no. 451; see Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 43 (date), and Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 532.

²⁸ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 198; *RRH*, no. 263; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 558v, and Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

²⁹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 783; *RRH*, no. 649; see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 288-95, no. 90 (without the witness lists); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269, 878 (date).

³⁰ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 431.

Latin East, ranking above the commander of Antioch right from the start³¹. In 1193, the Hospitallers added yet again to their prestige, when Prince Bohemond III decided to join the order as a *confrater* and chose the Antiochene Hospitaller house as his burial site³².

That the Templars began to extend their sphere of influence into northern Syria shortly after they had become an order in 1129³³, can be seen from a letter written between 1135 and 1140 by Bernard of Clairvaux to Ralph of Domfront, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, in which the Cistercian recommended the Templars to the patriarch³⁴. In 1140, two *milites Templi* named Drogo and Guisbert witnessed charters issued by Prince Raymond I in Antioch³⁵, which could suggest that the Templars had established a presence in the city by that year. Due to the loss of the Templars' central archives, charter evidence for the property they acquired in the principality comes late, namely not until 1160, when Prince Reynald of Antioch confirmed their purchase of a *gastina* named Bolferis from Reynald Mazoir, the lord of Margat³⁶. Hospitallers and Templars profited from the generosity and financial desperation of the Mazoir family which would, however, eventually lead to conflicting claims with regard to the Mazoir estates. According to some letters and various narrative sources, such as John Cinnamus, Michael the Syrian and William of Tyre, we know that the Templars began acquiring responsibilities for property as early as the 1130s and that they held castles in the Amanus march shortly after the middle of the twelfth century³⁷. In the

³¹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 783; *RRH*, no. 649.

³² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 948; *RRH*, no. 714; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 640; Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 44 (date).

³³ R. Hiestand, 'Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 99 (1988), pp. 295-325, here pp. 300-1.

³⁴ *S. Bernardi epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 2 vols, *S. Bernardi Opera*, 7 and 8 (Rome, 1974 and 1977), here II (*Opera*, 8), p. 363, no. 393; see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 35, n. 22; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 59.

³⁵ Both charters were issued on 19 April 1140: 1. G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 15 (Paris, 1984), no. 76; E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem publié d'après les manuscrits du Vatican* (Paris, 1849), no. 88; *RRH*, no. 195. 2. Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire*, no. 77; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no. 89; *RRH*, no. 194. See Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 35 with n. 22.

³⁶ Pauli, *Codice*, I, pp. 206-7, no. 163; *RRH*, no. 347; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 671.

³⁷ For this, with detailed references to the sources, see J. Riley-Smith, 'The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia', in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T.S.R. Boase (New York, 1978), pp. 92-117, here pp. 93-5. See also A.J. Forey, *The*

charters, there is no evidence for any Antiochene Templar officials until 1203, when Peter of Raiace, the Templars' grand commander of the house of Antioch, received the last will and testament of one Bernard of Moreuil³⁸. As will be shown below, the Templars' normative texts do contain earlier references to this office.

Both orders had a separate commander or grand commander who was in charge of his respective order's houses and properties in the principality of Antioch³⁹. The varying titles that some of these officials received in the charters may reflect their changing responsibilities⁴⁰. Thus, at least in some cases, a commander became a *magnus* commander when his duties or the scope of his oversight increased⁴¹. Apart from their castles, to which we will return later, the Hospitallers had commanderies — and baths⁴² — in Antioch and Latakia⁴³, as well as a commandery in Jabala⁴⁴. Both orders held numerous possessions throughout the principality, especially in and around the cities and in the vicinity of

Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries (London, 1992), p. 61; A.J. Forey, 'Military Orders and Secular Warfare in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Viator*, 24 (1993), pp. 79-100, here p. 80; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 145.

³⁸ *Collection d'Albon* (see n. 7), 47, fol. 240; A. Trudon des Ormes, *Étude sur les possessions de l'ordre du Temple en Picardie*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 4e série, 32 (Paris and Amiens, 1894), pp. 367-8, no. 63; *RRH*, no. 792a.

³⁹ Templars: *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, no. 530. Hospitallers: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 627; *RRH*, no. 614a.

⁴⁰ The various titles of the Hospitallers' commander of Antioch between 1151 and 1181 follow. 1151: 'frater Willelmus, qui tunc temporis in Antiochenis finibus domibus Hospitalis preerat'; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 198; *RRH*, no. 263. 1155: 'frater Willelmus, Antiochene domus Hospitalis tunc preceptor'; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 231; *RRH*, no. 314. 1175: 'frater Gibelinus, qui tunc erat preceptor domus Hospitalis, que est in Antiochia'; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, nos 21a and 21b; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 474; *RRH*, no. 513. 1183: 'frater Alexander preceptor Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Iherusalem in Antiochia'; *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 682v. 1184/1185: 'frater Roggerius de Larunt, preceptor Ospitalis S. Iohannis que est in Antiochie'; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 665; *RRH*, no. 636. 1187: 'frater Rogerius de Liro, tunc temporis Antiochie bajulus'; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 783; *RRH*, no. 647.

⁴¹ This is discussed in Burgtorf, 'Führungsstrukturen und Funktionsträger', p. 155.

⁴² The references to these baths follow. 1146 (Antioch): *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 170 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 241a; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 608v. 1158 (Latakia): *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 283. 1159 (Latakia): *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 280 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 336a.

⁴³ For the commanders, see Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, pp. 431 (Antioch) and 432 (Latakia).

⁴⁴ In 1183, the Hospitaller Alexander was preceptor of Latakia and Jabala: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 648; *RRH*, no. 633; *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 553v; see Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 82-4 (date); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 878 (date), Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

Margat, where the Templars apparently owned property before the Hospitallers did⁴⁵.

How did the military orders' Antiochene officials fit into their respective orders' general structure? The Templars' *retrais*, i.e. their so-called 'hierarchical statutes' written before 1187, inform us that the Templars' commander of the land of Antioch ('Comandour de la terre... d'Anthioche') was considered one of the 'comandours fait par chapitre general', i.e. a 'capitular bailiff', an official who was appointed by the master with mandatory input from the general chapter. The commander of Antioch shared this rank with the seneschal, the marshal, the commander of the land of Jerusalem, the commanders of the cities of Jerusalem and Acre, the draper and the commanders of the lands of Tripoli, England, France, Poitiers, Aragón, Portugal, Apulia and Hungary⁴⁶. Thus, he belonged to the highest level of officials under the master. His position was, however, yet more exclusive. Of the fifteen capitular bailiffs, only five, namely the seneschal, the marshal and the commanders of Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch were entitled to carry their own banners (*confanon*)⁴⁷. Of these five, only four, namely the seneschal and the commanders of Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch were entitled to their own Saracen scribe (*escrivain sarrazinois*)⁴⁸. There are yet further indicators: When the Templars were 'on campaign', only the master and the seneschal, the commander of the city of Jerusalem and the commanders of the lands of Tripoli and Antioch were permitted to use what was apparently the most prestigious type of tent, namely the 'round' tent (*tente reonde*)⁴⁹. In light of all this it is safe to say that the commander of the Templar province of Antioch was one of the most highly regarded officials in his order. At least initially, the Templars' central government was not supposed to interfere with the affairs of the Templars in Antioch. One of the notable exceptions was that the master could delegate a brother from the central convent to go and inspect the garrisons of the castles⁵⁰. We will see later that the master and the

⁴⁵ Templars (1160): Pauli, *Codice*, I, pp. 206-7, no. 163; *RRH*, no. 347; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 671. Hospitallers (1165): *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 341 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 419a.

⁴⁶ *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, nos 87, 88.

⁴⁷ *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, nos 99, 121, 125, 164.

⁴⁸ For the entourage and equipment of the Templars' high officials, see *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, nos 77-9, 99, 101, 110, 120, 125, 130, 132, 138, 143.

⁴⁹ *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, nos 99, 121, 125.

⁵⁰ *La règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon, no. 92: 'Li Maistres ne doit envoier nul frere en son leu en la terre de Triple ne d'Antyoche, sus les comandours qui i sont, se n'estoit por

central convent took their oversight of these castles in northern Syria rather seriously.

For the Hospitallers, one of the most revealing normative texts with regard to the order's hierarchy is the *usance* no. 109, one of the order's 'customs', probably written between 1239 and 1271⁵¹. This particular *usance* explains how the Hospitallers were supposed to hold a general chapter, including the order in which the various officials were to render their accounts. Presumably, this order reflected the hierarchy of officials: first the central convents' high officials, i.e. grand commander, marshal, hospitaller, draper and treasurer, then the so-called *bailis de Surie* (the Syrian bailiffs), i.e. the castellans of the Krak des Chevaliers (Hisn al-Akrād) and Margat, the commanders of Armenia and Cyprus and all the others ('et tous les autres') — the commander of Antioch is not even listed, even though he certainly was one of the *bailis de Surie*; the *baillis d'outremer* (the Western bailiffs) followed⁵². Given the nature and origin of the institution, it is not surprising that, at least officially, the provincial dignitaries of the East ranked higher than those of the West. By the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch took their orders from the dignitaries who were in charge of the Hospitallers' two most prominent Syrian castles (Krak des Chevaliers and Margat). The order's 'commanders' of Tripoli and Antioch had, by then, probably been relegated to the order's houses in these two respective cities.

Thus, in the overall hierarchy, the Templars' Antiochene commander ranked much higher than the Hospitallers' Antiochene commander. *Usance* no. 109 shows that, for the Hospitallers, the castellan of Margat was the hierarchical equivalent of the Templars' commander of the land of Antioch⁵³. The exalted position of the Hospitallers' castellan of Margat is further corroborated by the fact that, just like the Templars' commander of the land of Antioch, he was among the few who had scribes attached to their office⁵⁴. One of the ways the Hospitallers'

aucune chose qui fust sourse en la terre, por conseilier, ou por veoir les garnisons de chastiaus.'

⁵¹ Burgtorf, 'Führungsstrukturen und Funktionsträger', p. 21, n. 1 (date).

⁵² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2213, *usance* no. 109; *RRH*, no. 1093a. The brothers of the military orders in the Latin East referred to 'Europe' as *outremer*, i.e. overseas.

⁵³ For further evidence that the Hospitallers' castellan of Margat ranked higher than their preceptor of Antioch, see the witness in the following charter (issued in 1248): *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2482; *RRH*, no. 1164.

⁵⁴ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, III, no. 3317; *RRH*, no. 1360a.

central convent tied the provinces and commanderies to the headquarters was through the annual obligation of each major priory or bailiwick to deliver a set quantity of certain goods which were intended to contribute to the charitable operations of the order's central hospital. Thus, every year, the commander of Antioch was expected to deliver 2,000 arm's-lengths of cotton cloth to be used as bedcovers of the sick⁵⁵. No matter whether it were the Hospitallers' annual fees or the Templar master's envoys sent to inspect castles, both orders' central governments did ensure that their members in the principality of Antioch would not forget who was, in fact, in charge.

2. Roles

A few years ago, Michael Metcalf raised the intriguing question how the Templars might have supported 'their expenses in guarding the northern marches of the Principality of Antioch'⁵⁶. It is certainly conceivable that 'the monetary prosperity of Antioch' had something to do with 'subsidies from the Latin Kingdom, channeled by the Templars'⁵⁷, as there is evidence for the Templars' and Hospitallers' involvement in financial transactions concerning the principality. In 1148, Everard of Barres, the future master of the Templars, who had arrived in the East with the French crusading army, was sent from Antioch to Acre to procure funds for King Louis VII⁵⁸. One year later, the Templars themselves were forced to borrow money. Following the devastating defeat of 29 June 1149 in northern Syria, the Templar seneschal Andrew of Montbard informed his order's master that they had borrowed 7,000 bezants in Acre and 1,000 bezants in Jerusalem to participate in this ill-fated expedition⁵⁹. The Hospitallers

⁵⁵ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 627: 'Ilm canes de toile de coton as covertors des malades'; *RRH*, no. 614a.

⁵⁶ M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Questions Arising out of the Role of the Templars as Guardians of the Northern Marches of the Principality of Antioch', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders* (see n. 22), pp. 77-87, here p. 79.

⁵⁷ Metcalf, 'Monetary Questions', p. 86.

⁵⁸ King Louis VII's letter to the archbishop of Rheims and others (1148): M.J.J. Brial and L. Delisle, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France: Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores*, xv, 1060-1180 (Paris, 1878), p. 496: 'ad muto accipiendam pecuniam nobis necessariam'; see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 44 with n. 12.

⁵⁹ Andrew of Montbard's letter to Everard of Barres (1149): Brial and Delisle, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xv, pp. 540-1; see Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, pp. 259-63; Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 49 with notes 31 and 32, p. 57.

were involved in similar transactions. In 1214, King Leon II of Armenia issued two donation-charters addressed to the Hospitallers from whom he had borrowed 10,000 bezants to finance the wedding of his daughter to John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem. Both charters were witnessed by the Hospitaller commander of Antioch who may have helped to channel the loan⁶⁰. Much like modern banks, the military orders' houses also served as repositories and safes for valuables: in 1209, Peter of Ivrea, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, issued a receipt to the Hospitallers for items which his predecessors had stored with them but which he, Peter, had now received back from 'frater Garssio Asmaldi, thesaurarius Hospitalis in Antiochia', i.e. from the treasurer of the order's house in the city of Antioch⁶¹.

However, even back then money was not everything. Thus, we turn from the administration of funds to the administration of fish. According to Mayer, the breeding of eels and fish in large ponds in and around Antioch was a major commercial venture, and the princes enjoyed giving annual donations of eels to religious institutions⁶². What they could probably not foresee was that these institutions would start exchanging and selling their annual claims to the princes' eels. In 1181, Bohemond III confirmed the transfer of 500 'annual eels' from St Salvator at Nablus to the Hospitallers in Antioch⁶³. In the following year, the order of St Lazarus sold their 500 'annual eels' for 120 bezants to the Hospitallers of Antioch⁶⁴. Then, in 1183, Bohemond gave 1,000 'annual eels' to the abbey on Mount Tabor⁶⁵, which became a property of the Hospitallers in 1255⁶⁶. Consequently, in 1259, Prince Bohemond VI found himself confronted with a claim lodged against him by the Hospitallers that he had been delinquent in delivering the 2,000 'annual eels' which he owed them. The prince agreed to comply⁶⁷.

⁶⁰ Both charters are dated 23 April 1214 and were issued at Tarsus: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, nos 1426, 1427; *RRH*, nos 869, 870.

⁶¹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1336; *RRH*, no. 840; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 617v; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

⁶² Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 164.

⁶³ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 654v; according to Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 165, this piece was erroneously added into *RRH*, no. 629a.

⁶⁴ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 344; see Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 165.

⁶⁵ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 686; see Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 165, especially n. 270, and *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁶⁶ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 413.

⁶⁷ La Valletta, Malta National Library, Archives of the Order of St. John, vol. v (MS s. XIII), 63 (I would like to thank Professor Hiestand for allowing me to use his transcription of this text); see J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les archives, la bibliothèque et le trésor*

Much more prestigious than administration, which, of course, took many more forms than can be mentioned here, was the military orders' involvement in the defence of the Holy Land, which for the Templars and Hospitallers of Antioch also took many different forms: they served with the principality's armed forces⁶⁸, they garrisoned border fortresses⁶⁹ and they participated in the crusades. To give just one example for the latter: in 1249, the Templar 'frater Ferrandus Spagnolus, preceptor Antiochie', appeared in Limassol where he was involved in the final preparations for the crusade of King Louis IX of France⁷⁰. Early on, the military orders' role in the defence of the Holy Land became so important, that it became mandatory to consult them when it came to negotiating truce agreements with the Muslims. As early as 1142, Count Raymond II of Tripoli had declared that he would not accept or enter into truce agreements with the Muslims without the consent of the Hospitallers⁷¹. In 1168, Bohemond III of Antioch found that he could do even better than that: he extended the self-restraint with regard to truce negotiations to all his vassals; in his principality nobody would conclude a truce 'sine consilio fratrum ejusdem Hospitalis' (without the counsel of the brothers of the Hospital)⁷².

de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 32 (Paris, 1883), p. 196, no. 89 (summary); *RRH*, no. 1284. See also *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2917; *RRH*, no. 1272b; *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 348v; fol. 594v.

⁶⁸ In 1149, the Templars marched to the rescue of the city of Antioch; in 1164, Templars and Hospitallers fought at the battle of Artah; in 1211, the Templars, with assistance from Bohemond IV, marched to regain Gaston; in 1219, the Hospitallers guarded the castle of Antioch on behalf of Raymond-Roupen; in 1261, Templars and Hospitallers helped Bohemond VI retake Latakia and Jabala. See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 384, 408, 616-7, 631, 706.

⁶⁹ See below.

⁷⁰ L.T. Belgrano, *Documenti inediti riguardanti le due crociate di San Ludovico IX, re di Francia* (Genoa, 1859), pp. 61-2, no. 32; *RRH*, no. 1176; see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 41; Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 231.

⁷¹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 144: 'absque consilio et assensu fratrum ejusdem domus, treugas non accipiam nec faciam cum Sarracenis'; *RRH*, no. 212.

⁷² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 391: 'Preterea dono et concedo eidem Hospitali quod nec ego, nec homo de terra mea faciemus treugas cum Sarracenis, nec cum Christianis qui cum Sarracenis partiantur, sine consilio fratrum ejusdem Hospitalis'; *RRH*, no. 428; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 342; fol. 626v; Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 868 (date), superseding Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 43 (date). See also J. Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter — Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung: Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. D. Bauer, K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Frankfurt, 2001), pp. 165-200, here pp. 183-4.

While it can be argued that the military orders served as 'policemen' or 'peace-keeping forces' in the Latin East⁷³, it is important to note that they were on occasion among those who would break a truce. A typical example of such a breach of a truce, namely one that had been signed in 1271, occurred in late October 1279, when the Hospitallers of Margat (which would survive the fall of Antioch by seventeen years) decided to conduct a *chevauchée* (an organized raid) against the Muslims of their territory. They went a considerable distance towards the south-east, i.e. into the direction of Homs, and made substantial booty. On their way back to Margat they passed by Chastelblanc, a former Templar castle in the county of Tripoli which Baybars had taken in 1271⁷⁴. There, Muslim forces had assembled, namely about 5,000 men on horses and more on foot; they began to pursue the Hospitallers and chased them all the way to Maraclea, i.e. to the coast south of Margat, where the Hospitallers, even though they were only 200 on horses, turned against the Muslims, killed many of them, only lost one sergeant brother, made even more booty and then returned to Margat⁷⁵. The Hospitallers did, of course, not conduct this *chevauchée* to keep themselves entertained or 'in shape'; with resources in the East and contributions from the West dwindling, they had to find ways to finance their strongholds and feed their own people.

While quarrelling with the enemy can be seen as the Templars' and Hospitallers' 'occupational hazard', their quarrelling with fellow Latin Christians, especially their quarrelling with one another, gave rise to much criticism⁷⁶. We shall now briefly turn to disputes between Templars and Hospitallers that took place in the principality of Antioch. That both Templars and Hospitallers were 'in business' with the Mazoir family, i.e. the lords of Margat, has already been mentioned. For both orders, this involvement started around 1160/1165⁷⁷. Their conflicts regarding the Mazoir estates soon seem to have attracted papal attention.

⁷³ See Burgtorf, 'Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung'.

⁷⁴ See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 138-9.

⁷⁵ *Les Gestes des Chiprois: Recueil des chroniques françaises écrites en Orient au XIIIe & XIVe siècles (Philippe de Navarre & Gérard de Montréal)*, ed. G. Raynaud, Société de l'Orient latin, Série historique, 5 (Geneva, 1887), p. 208, no. 403.

⁷⁶ H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 25-6, 68; Burgtorf, 'Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung' (see n. 72), pp. 174-80.

⁷⁷ Templars (1160): Pauli, *Codice*, 1, pp. 206-7, no. 163; *RRH*, no. 347; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 671. Hospitallers (1165): *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 341 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 419a.

In 1179, under pressure from Pope Alexander III who was preparing the Third Lateran Council, both orders agreed to a *firma pax* which was confirmed by Bohemond III of Antioch (among others)⁷⁸. This *firma pax* did not last forever. On 8 February 1199, Pope Innocent III admonished Templars and Hospitallers to exercise moderation with regard to their disputes over properties and rights in Margat and Valania. To plead their case, both orders had sent their own delegates to the *curia*⁷⁹.

For a while, their attention shifted because of the Antiochene succession crisis, in which the Templars supported Prince Bohemond IV while the Hospitallers sided with Prince Raymond-Roupen⁸⁰. The two cardinal legates who tried to help resolve this crisis, Soffred of St Prassede and Peter of St Marcello, ultimately failed in their attempts, and the crisis continued on into the second decade of the thirteenth century⁸¹. At the height of this crisis, both Raymond-Roupen and Bohemond IV obviously began to grant identical privileges to opposing parties. Thus, Raymond-Roupen granted the city of Jabala to the Hospitallers while Bohemond IV granted it to the Templars⁸². Considering that for most of this time Jabala was actually in Muslim hands, this truly was, as Mayer has put it, a case of *Schattenboxen* (shadow boxing)⁸³. The infamous papal legate Pelagius heard the case in 1221 and, in a rare display of Solomonic wisdom, decided that each order should receive half⁸⁴. It seems that this solution

⁷⁸ Bohemond III: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 559; *RRH*, no. 574; see Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 38-9 (date); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 877 (date). The original agreement had been made between the two masters, the Templar Odo of St Amand and the Hospitaller Roger of Moulins, in the presence of King Baldwin IV, Bohemond III and Count Raymond III of Tripoli: Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 237-9, no. 27; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 558; *RRH*, no. 572. There are at least three different texts of this important agreement, see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 239-47, no. 28. It was eventually inserted into Alexander III's *Quanto religio uestra* of 2 August (1179): Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 248-9, no. 30; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, 387, no. 570; *RRH*, no. 584.

⁷⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III., I, I. Pontifikatsjahr: Texte*, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher, Publikationen der Abteilung für Historische Studien des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom (Graz, 1964), pp. 818-20, no. 561 ('In totius christianitatis'); *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 1069; *RRH*, no. 751.

⁸⁰ See Forey, *Military Orders* (see n. 37), p. 93.

⁸¹ See R. Hiestand, 'Die päpstlichen Legaten auf den Kreuzzügen und in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten vom Konzil von Clermont (1095) bis zum vierten Kreuzzug' (Habilitationsschrift, Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel, 1972), pp. 330-3, 351-5, 366-7. For the legates' report, see *ibid.*, pp. 585-98, no. 8; *RRH*, no. 794. For King Leon's complaints to Innocent III about Peter of St Marcello, see *ibid.*, pp. 598-605, no. 9; *RRH*, no. 798. See Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 152-3.

⁸² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1739; *RRH*, no. 949.

⁸³ Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, p. 203.

⁸⁴ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1739: 'super civitate Gibel et ejus districtu, quam domus militie Templi ad se pertinere dicebat ex donatione Boemundi, comitis

did not satisfy the parties involved, and in 1233 the case was once again before a papal legate, this time Patriarch Albert of Antioch, who, however, essentially confirmed Pelagius's ruling⁸⁵.

In 1258, after the War of St Sabas⁸⁶, Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights decided that, henceforth, they would settle any disputes that would arise among them in the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus, Armenia, the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli, through newly set rules of negotiation. According to these rules, the high officials of all orders were expected to first attempt to resolve conflicts through direct talks with one another. If they failed to reach an agreement after one month each one of the disagreeing commanders had to nominate one or two arbiters. If these arbiters failed to find a solution they were to select a brother from an order which was not involved in the dispute to assist them. If travel was involved to settle these disputes all were expected to assist the travelling arbiters regardless of which order they belonged to. Henceforth, all newly elected masters and commanders in the Holy Land and Cyprus had to confirm this agreement by taking an oath in the presence of representatives of the respective other orders⁸⁷. Consequently, in 1262, 100 years after they had begun to be involved with the Mazoir estates, Templars and Hospitallers finally settled their disputes concerning Margat and Valania with considerable attention to detail⁸⁸. Progress had been made: quarrels would not have to be taken to the *curia* any longer.

3. Castles

Historians have a 'professional' fascination with the question of who was where first. With regard to our topic, Cahen has pointed out that the Hospitallers and Templars were first entrusted with fortified places guarding the Egyptian border of the kingdom of Jerusalem and then with castles in the county of Tripoli. In both cases, according to the same author, the Hospitallers came first: in the kingdom they held Bethgibelin

Tripolitani, magister vero Hospitalis et fratres sui ex donatione Raimundi Rupini sibi facta ad se pertinere asserebant'; *RRH*, no. 949.

⁸⁵ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2058; *RRH*, no. 1043; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 353. This dispute continued into the 1260s.

⁸⁶ For this 'civil war' that disrupted the Latin East in the mid-thirteenth century, see Runciman, *Crusades*, III, pp. 282-6.

⁸⁷ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2902; *RRH*, no. 1269 (part 1).

⁸⁸ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, III, no. 3029; *RRH*, no. 1319.

(1136) before the Templars held Gaza (1150), and in the county of Tripoli they held the Krak des Chevaliers (1144) before the Templars held Tortosa (1152). However, Cahen continues, it was the other way around in the principality of Antioch: the Templars held Gaston (1153) and other castles in the Amanus range before the Hospitallers received Margat (1187)⁸⁹. Apparently, the Templars were involved in the protection of the northern Antiochene border as early as the 1130s; however, they did not have castles assigned to them until the early 1150s⁹⁰. The most important castles they held at any given time were all situated in the Amanus mountains, namely Gaston, Trapesac (Darbsāk), La Roche de Roissol and the still, with regard to its identity and exact location, debated La Roche de Guillaume⁹¹. In contrast to the Templars' early Antiochene castle assignments, the Hospitallers did not receive their first major castle in the principality, namely Margat, until 1187. However, the Hospitallers' presence in the city of Antioch must have been impressive enough for Raymond-Roupen to entrust them with the city's citadel when he had to flee Antioch in 1219⁹². It has been pointed out that there is an important difference between the Templars' castles in northern Antioch and the Hospitallers' attempted *Ordensstaat* in the southern part of the principality. Both formed veritable marches, however, while the Hospitallers, more or less, had to reckon with Muslim enemies only, the Templars were expected to keep Muslims, Greeks and Armenians in check, which increased their chances to become entangled in much conflicting 'international' diplomacy⁹³.

It is to the Templars' castle of Gaston that we now turn⁹⁴. Between the early 1150s and the early 1170s, this castle had to be defended against

⁸⁹ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 511. For the revised dates of when these castles were entrusted to the military orders, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 31 (Bethgibelin, Gaza), 142 (Gaston), 145 (Krak des Chevaliers); Barber, *New Knighthood* (see n. 34), p. 81 (Tortosa); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269, 878 (Margat).

⁹⁰ Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 353-4; Riley-Smith, 'The Templars and the Teutonic Knights' (see n. 37), pp. 92-5; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 145.

⁹¹ For this debate, see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 143-4; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, pp. 359-65; R.W. Edwards, 'Bağras and Armenian Cilicia: A Reassessment', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 17 (1983), pp. 415-55, here pp. 416-8; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 142.

⁹² *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 1-481, here p. 318; see Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 740 with n. 5; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 159; Runciman, *Crusades*, III, p. 171.

⁹³ See Riley-Smith, 'The Templars and the Teutonic Knights' (see n. 37), p. 108; Forey, 'Military Orders and Secular Warfare' (see n. 37), p. 80.

⁹⁴ On Gaston, see also A.W. Lawrence, 'The Castle of Baghras', in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T.S.R. Boase (New York, 1978), pp. 34-83.

the Armenians who resented the Templars' presence in the Amanus mountains⁹⁵. That the Muslims may have resented the Templars' presence at Gaston even more, can be gathered from the comments of 'Imād-ad-Dīn al-Isfāhānī. When Sultan Salāh-ad-Dīn, despite considerable resistance from the Templars⁹⁶, conquered Gaston in 1188, his secretary wrote:

This was a castle of the Templars, a hole of hyenas, a forest populated by beasts, a residence of their vagabonds, a cave of their tramps, a retreat from which the calamities which they caused originated, a place from which misfortunes were sent out, a quiver of their arrows, a hill visited by ostriches, full of wolves and flies, a hive of wasps, an abode of pigs, a vantage point of the damned, a resting place of vultures, a den of terrifying animals, a resting place for their troops⁹⁷.

Soon after his conquest, Salāh-ad-Dīn abandoned the castle, it was then seized by the Armenians, but the Templars demanded it back and for this purpose enlisted the support of Pope Innocent III. What the pope failed to understand was that Gaston was the key to Antioch, and that King Leon II of Armenia was determined to hold Gaston to enable his grand-nephew Raymond-Roupen to take Antioch from Bohemond IV⁹⁸. The Templars eventually recovered the castle around 1215 and then held

⁹⁵ In the early 1150s, Thoros took the castle and only restored it to the Templars after a military defeat in 1156: Lawrence, 'The Castle of Baghras', p. 42 with n. 23 (citing an Armenian source, namely Gregory the Priest). In 1169/1171, Milo/Mleh the Armenian, the brother of Thoros, joined forces with Nūr-ad-Dīn and dispossessed the Templars of whatever they had in Cilicia ('quicquid fratres militie Templi in partibus habebant Cilicie'), even though he had once been a Templar brother himself ('licet eorum frater aliquando fuisset'): William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, II, p. 949 (20.26); see also S.D. Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, II, pp. 630-59, here pp. 642-3. See Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 90, who in this context explains that the Templars probably lost, at least temporarily, all their territory close to Armenia, namely Gaston, Trapesac and the territories around Alexandrette. According to Malcolm Barber, Gaston and the Templars' other fortifications were 'forming a screen across the northern frontier... establishing the Templars as virtually autonomous marcher lords'; see Barber, *New Knighthood* (see n. 34), p. 79. By 1175, the Templars had regained most of their possessions; see Edwards, 'Bağras and Armenian Cilicia' (see n. 91), p. 43.

⁹⁶ Upton-Ward, 'Surrender of Gaston', pp. 179-88, here p. 188.

⁹⁷ 'Imād ad-Dīn al Isfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie* (see n. 11), p. 142: 'C'était un château des Templiers, repaire d'hyènes, forêt peuplée de fauves, séjour de leurs rôdeurs, antre de leurs coureurs, retraite d'où provenaient les calamités qu'ils causaient, lieu d'où sortaient les malheurs, carquois de leurs flèches, hauteur hantée des autruches [sic]; abondante en loups et en mouches, ruche de guêpes, gîte de porcs, observatoire des sacres, reposoir de vautours, tanière des bêtes féroces, lieu de halte pour leurs milices.'

⁹⁸ See Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 150-7, with ample references to the sources.

it until 1268 when they abandoned it in the context of Baybar's conquest of Antioch⁹⁹.

The Templars' surrender of Gaston inspired Judi Upton-Ward to an essay (1994) in which she drew attention to the fact that, while all narrative Christian and Muslim sources seem only to mention this event in passing¹⁰⁰, there is, in fact, one detailed account of the event, namely the Catalan fragment of the *Rule of the Templars*, which Upton-Ward has recently edited and translated¹⁰¹. However, it should be recognized that Bulst-Thiele had already discussed this same text twenty years earlier in her book on the Templar masters¹⁰². According to the Catalan fragment, when Gerard of Saucet was commander of the land of Antioch, Sultan Baybars and his troops came up from Egypt. Gerard alerted the master to the impending invasion as well as to the fact that the castle of Gaston, located to the north of Antioch, needed provisions ('que de tot avíon defauta a Gastó'). The master promised help, but never sent it. Baybars then took Antioch and fear took hold of the garrison at Gaston ('les ffres qui éront a Gastó fóront molt esmayés'). To cut a long story short, the garrison transferred as much of the equipment as they could carry to nearby La Roche de Guillaume, then devastated Gaston and abandoned it. Meanwhile in Acre, the master and the central convent, realizing that Gaston would be doomed, came up with a plan that reads almost like a carbon copy of what the garrison of Gaston had already done. However, after the actions of Gaston's former garrison became known, the members of the garrison were summoned before the chapter in Acre, because they had actually violated the order's rule according to which the dismantling of a border fortress required an order from the master and the convent ('qar est dit en nostra maisó que qui desenpararà chastel de marcha, sens congé deu maistre e u covent, que la maisó ne li pot demorer'). It was, however, argued that the garrison, even though unknowingly, had done exactly what the master and the convent had proposed. After much deliberation the chapter decided that the brothers of the garrison could

⁹⁹ See Upton-Ward, 'Surrender of Gaston', pp. 181-2.

¹⁰⁰ *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 457; *Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud (see n. 75), p. 191, no. 365; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (1223-1292): 'The inhabitants of the... place, the Templars, felt threatened,... and... left the place. The Emir, Shams ad-Din Eksanker... took possession of it... and he found only an old woman' (trans. Kemal Çiçek, quoted in Upton-Ward, 'Surrender of Gaston', p. 183, where other Muslim sources are also briefly discussed).

¹⁰¹ Upton-Ward, 'Surrender of Gaston'; *Catalan Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward.

¹⁰² Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 248-9.

stay in the order but would have to do penance¹⁰³. Here we come full circle with the provision in the Templars' *retrais* mentioned earlier, that reserved the master's and the central convent's right to oversee the castles in the order's provinces.

Much could be discussed with regard to the famous Hospitaller castle of Margat, such as the fact that Bertrand of Mazoir found himself unable to hold it and therefore sold it in 1187¹⁰⁴, the fact that a new official, the Hospitallers' castellan of Margat, already appeared in the charter documenting the transfer of the castle¹⁰⁵, the fact that it was one of the few strongholds that was able to withstand both Salāh-ad-Dīn and Baybars¹⁰⁶ and the fact that it survived the fall of Antioch and held out until 1285¹⁰⁷. However, the Hospitaller castle of Margat raises another issue, which may seem to be a tangent, but it does help to illustrate the role of this castle in northern Syria: Where did the military orders have their headquarters between 1187, the loss of Jerusalem, and 1191, the conquest of Acre? Interestingly enough, this question has never really been raised with regard to the Templars, however, with regard to the Hospitallers it has been said, time and again, that they relocated their central convent to Margat¹⁰⁸, where it stayed either until the early thirteenth

¹⁰³ *Catalan Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward, pp. 80-6, no. 180 (according to her reading the penance lasts two days: 'a.ii. jorns'); J. Delaville Le Roulx, 'Un nouveau manuscrit de la Règle du Temple', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 26 (1889), pp. 185-214, no. 48 (according to his reading the penance lasts a year and a day: 'an e jors'); K. Körner, *Die Varianten der Barceloner Handschrift der Templerregel: Aus dem Altfranzösischen-Provenzalischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen*, Klussmann, Deutsche Schulprogramme, 1904, 535 (Neunkirchen, 1904), pp. 21-4, no. 48; cf. Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 248-9; Upton Ward, 'Surrender of Gaston', pp. 186-8.

¹⁰⁴ Pope Urban III, in *Humanitatis affectum et*, confirmed the grant of Margat to the Hospitallers. He names as reasons for Bertrand's act: 'prout christianitati necessarium uidebatur, pre nimiis sumptibus et infidelium uicinitate tenere non posset'; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 288-95, no. 90; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 809 (text without inserts); *RRH*, no. 652; cf. Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269, 878 (date).

¹⁰⁵ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 783; *RRH*, no. 649; see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 288-95, no. 90 (without the witness lists); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269 and 878 (date).

¹⁰⁶ 1188 (Saladin): see Abū-l-Fidā', quoted in Deschamps, *Châteaux*, p. 265. 1271 (Baybars): see P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, 12 (Leiden, 1995), pp. 48-57, no. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud (see n. 75), pp. 217-8, no. 429.

¹⁰⁸ C. Du Cange, *Les familles d'Outremer*, rev. ed. E.G. Rey, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1869; reprint New York, 1971), p. 893; H. Prutz, *Die exemte Stellung des Hospitaliter-Ordens: Ihre Entwicklung, ihr Wesen und ihre Wirkungen*, Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,

century¹⁰⁹ or maybe even until 1285, the year the fortress was lost¹¹⁰. Why Margat? There is indeed some circumstantial evidence. In 1188, Armengaud of Asp, then master of the Hospitallers, wrote a letter to Duke Leopold V of Austria, in which he mentioned that Salāh-ad-Dīn had conquered almost all the castles in the principality of Antioch — with the exception of Margat¹¹¹. In 1191, when King Richard I of England entrusted Isaac of Cyprus as a state prisoner to the Hospitallers' care, they sent him to Margat¹¹². In 1193, the Hospitaller master Geoffrey of Donjon attended a provincial chapter at Margat and issued a charter there¹¹³. The Hospitallers' general chapter of 1204/1206, famous for its statutes, also took place at Margat¹¹⁴. Last, but not least, Margat was located in a fairly extensive territory which, in 1187, had been more or less fully deeded to the Hospitallers¹¹⁵.

The counterevidence is, however, more convincing. To turn around the last argument for Margat as the new headquarters, one must consider that Margat was, after all, a recent acquisition¹¹⁶, not even a year old when Jerusalem was lost. Secondly, at that time Salāh-ad-Dīn was successfully conquering castle after castle¹¹⁷. Granted, his attempt to conquer Margat — if he ever made such an attempt¹¹⁸ — failed, but in light of all the other losses, the Hospitallers' motivation to move the central convent to a castle should have been low¹¹⁹. Finally, in order to be 'where the action

Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1904, Dritte Abhandlung (Munich, 1904), pp. 95-187, here p. 100.

¹⁰⁹ E.J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931), pp. 159, 170.

¹¹⁰ Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden* (see n. 24), pp. 53-5; H.K. von Zwehl, *Nachrichten über die Armen- und Kranken-Fürsorge des Ordens vom Hospital des heil. Johannes von Jerusalem oder Souveränen Malteser-Ritterordens* (Rome, 1911), p. 13; W.D. Barz, *Der Malteserorden als Landesherr auf Rhodos und Malta im Licht seiner strafrechtlichen Quellen aus dem 14. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1990), p. 14.

¹¹¹ Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris et quidam alii rerum gestarum fontes eiusdem expeditionis*, ed. A. Chroust, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, nova series*, 5 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 4-5: 'excepta Margato castro nostro munitissimo'; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 863; *RRH*, no. 678.

¹¹² *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 169; see Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 551, n. 3.

¹¹³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 941; *RRH*, no. 708.

¹¹⁴ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1193; *RRH*, no. 800a.

¹¹⁵ See Barz, *Malteserorden als Landesherr* (see n. 110), p. 14.

¹¹⁶ See Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269, 878.

¹¹⁷ 'Imād ad-Dīn al Isfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie* (see n. 11), pp. 131-54.

¹¹⁸ See Deschamps, *Châteaux*, p. 265.

¹¹⁹ In early 1189, the Hospitallers even had to surrender Belvoir, one of their best-fortified castles in the kingdom, which the Muslims obviously considered as the (or a) chief

was' one had to be near Acre, which was the focus of the Third Crusade's attention between 1189 and 1191, and which subsequently became the capital of the second Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Between 1187 and 1189, i.e. between the loss of Jerusalem and the beginning of the siege of Acre, the temporary headquarters of both military orders were most likely in Tyre¹²⁰. During the siege of Acre (1189-91), their headquarters were their tents in the crusaders' camp. Margat was an important stronghold, but it was never the Hospitallers' headquarters.

4. *Prosopography*

The final point of this paper deals with 'the people', namely with some prosopographical additions and revisions. We will first focus on the Hospitallers' commanders of Antioch and their castellans of Margat. In Delaville Le Roulx's documented lists of Hospitaller officials, there are ten commanders of Antioch and nine castellans of Margat¹²¹. For no plausible reason, Cahen shortened Delaville Le Roulx's list of Antiochene commanders to six, but he did add one new name (Josserand)¹²². These lists were published in 1904 and 1940 respectively, and since then some new charters have surfaced and others have been reinterpreted. As a result, the list of commanders will increase to thirteen and that of the castellans to ten.

From a previously only incompletely known charter registered in the *Inventaire de Manosque* it can be gathered that a Hospitaller named Alexander, who so far had only been documented as the commander of Latakia and Jabala for the year 1183¹²³, was, in the same year, also the 'preceptor Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Iherusalem in Antiochia'¹²⁴, i.e.

residence of the order; see Abou Chamah, *Le livre des deux jardins: Histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour ed-din et celui de Salah ed-din*, ed. A.C. Barbier de Meynard, 2 vols, RHC Or., 4 and 5 (Paris, 1898 and 1906; reprint Westmead, 1969), 1, p. 388: 'Le plus récent événement ici est la prise de Kawkeb, capitale des Hospitaliers, séjour de ces impies, résidence de leur chef, dépôt de leurs armes et de leurs vivres.'

¹²⁰ See the charters issued in Tyre in 1187 and 1188 which indicate a strong presence of the military orders there: *RRH*, nos 659, 665-8, 670, 675, 677.

¹²¹ Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, pp. 431 (Antioch) and 433 (Margat).

¹²² See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

¹²³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 648; *RRH*, no. 633; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 553v; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40; Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 82-4 (date); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 878 (date).

¹²⁴ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 682v; see *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, 1, no. 651 (reg. s. XVIII without the name of the commander); *RRH*, no. 635a.

commander of Antioch. Since the dating of the documents in question is vague, it remains unclear whether Alexander held these offices consecutively or simultaneously, for the latter did occur in the military orders¹²⁵. The other addition is a Hospitaller commander of Antioch whose personal name is not mentioned and who appears in an agreement of 10 August 1226 which has been known all along, but has been overlooked and can now be dated more precisely because of the *Inventaire de Manosque*¹²⁶. The revised list of the Hospitaller commanders of Antioch follows.

Hospitaller commanders of Antioch

1. William, 1151, Latakia; 1155 (Antioch)¹²⁷
2. Gibelin, March 1175 (Antioch)¹²⁸
3. Alexander, 1183 (Antioch)¹²⁹
4. Roger of l'Ayron, 19 January 1184/1185 (Antioch), 1 February 1187, Margat¹³⁰
5. Albert, 7 March 1191 (Antioch)¹³¹

¹²⁵ See Burgtorf, 'Führungsstrukturen und Funktionsträger', p. 338.

¹²⁶ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 597 (date); *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1829 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 978a.

¹²⁷ Any data that appear not in round brackets are in the documents or can be ascertained beyond any doubt. Data that are in brackets are inferred. *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, nos 198 and 231; *RRH*, nos 263 and 314; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 558v (1151); fol. 565. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40; Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 863 (date).

¹²⁸ Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 230-2, nos 21a and 21b; *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 474; *RRH*, no. 513. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

¹²⁹ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 682v; see *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 651 (reg. s. XVIII without the name of the commander); *RRH*, no. 635a. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, — (not listed); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed). In April of the same year, he (or someone of the same name) served as commander of Latakia and Jabala: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 648; *RRH*, no. 633; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 553v; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40; Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 82-4 (date); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 878 (date).

¹³⁰ 1184/1185: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 665; *RRH*, no. 636; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 675v (dated 18 January 1184). 1187: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 783; *RRH*, no. 649; see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 288-95, no. 90 (without the witness lists); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269, 878 (date). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40. In 1185, without any title, he witnessed the charter of Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitaliers: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 754; *RRH*, no. 642; see Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 878 (date).

¹³¹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 906; *RRH*, no. 689; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 660v (contents distorted); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, p. 880 (date). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

6. Geoffrey Le Rat, 21 August 1198 (Tripoli); 15 June 1199 (Tripoli); 6 September 1199 (Tripoli)¹³²
7. Peter, 1203, Antioch¹³³
8. Gobert, 22 May 1207 (Antioch)¹³⁴
9. Albert Raynard, 23 April 1214, Tarsus; February 1215 (Antioch)¹³⁵
10. Josserand, 16 May 1216 (Antioch)¹³⁶
11. N.N., 10 August 1226 (Mamistra or Antioch)¹³⁷
12. D., 1246 (Mamistra or Antioch)¹³⁸
13. Anselm, 7 August 1248, Acre¹³⁹

One of Delaville Le Roulx's alleged Hospitaller castellans of Margat has to be removed from the list. The documents cited to support this castellan are statutes of general chapters held in 1263 and 1268 which refer to the office, not to a particular office holder¹⁴⁰. There are, however, two 'new' castellans of Margat to introduce. One is the famous Nicholas Lorgne who later became master of the Hospitallers¹⁴¹. That he served as castellan of Margat at some point was known (Delaville Le

¹³² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, nos 1031, 1085, 1096; *RRH*, nos 742, 757, 759; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 662 (21 April 1198); fol. 156v (6 September 1199). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed). Geoffrey served as his order's master 1206-1207: Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, pp. 132-6.

¹³³ *Collection d'Albon* (see n. 7), 47, fol. 240; Trudon des Ormes, *Étude sur les possessions de l'ordre du Temple en Picardie* (see n. 38), pp. 367-8, no. 63; *RRH*, no. 792a. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

¹³⁴ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1262; *RRH*, no. 820 (part 1). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431, n. 3; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed).

¹³⁵ 1214: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, nos 1426-7; *RRH*, nos 869-70. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40. 1215: *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 633v. In 1210, he had served as commander of Seleucia: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, nos 1349 and 1355; *RRH*, nos 843 and 845; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 7; fol. 659v; fol. 685v. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹³⁶ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1473 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 886a; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 204v. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, — (not listed); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 40.

¹³⁷ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 597 (date); *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1829 (reg. s. XVIII; content); *RRH*, no. 978a. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, — (not listed); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed).

¹³⁸ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2388 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 1145; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 66. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed).

¹³⁹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2482; *RRH*, no. 1164. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed).

¹⁴⁰ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, III, nos 3075 and 3317; *RRH*, nos 1329b and 1360a. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁴¹ For Nicholas Lorgne, see Burgtorf, 'Führungsstrukturen und Funktionsträger', pp. 592-6.

Roulx still did not list him), however, his tenure of office has yet to be determined with more precision¹⁴². A close analysis of the information that is contained in three different charters now allows us to 'frame' his tenure between 28 November 1250 and 1 March 1254. The basis for this is an undated *vidimus* of Raymond of Antioch's charter for the Hospitallers of 1 February 1149, issued by Bishop Peter of Valania upon the request of Nicholas Lorgne, the Hospitaller castellan of Margat¹⁴³. Bishop Peter of Valania was in office on 28 November 1250¹⁴⁴, the new castellan of Margat, John of Bubie, appears on 1 March 1254¹⁴⁵, therefore, Nicholas Lorgne's tenure as castellan of Margat falls between these two dates. The second new castellan is another *non nominatus*: on 29/30 May 1267, Sultan Baybars and the Hospitaller master, the castellan of the Krak de Chevaliers and the (unnamed) castellan of Margat signed a truce which was supposed to be valid for ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours¹⁴⁶. The revised list of the Hospitaller castellans of Margat follows.

Hospitaller castellans of Margat

1. Henry, 1 February 1187, Margat¹⁴⁷
2. Stephen, January 1193 (Antioch)¹⁴⁸
3. Peter of Escurai, 21 August 1198 (Tripoli); 15 June 1199 (Tripoli); 6 September 1199 (Tripoli)¹⁴⁹
4. Aimery of Pax, 1206 (Margat)¹⁵⁰

¹⁴² Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 189: 'In about 1250 he may have been castellan of Margat.'

¹⁴³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 183; Pauli, *Codice*, pp. 27-8, no. 25; *RRH*, no. 253. See Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 230, n. 1.

¹⁴⁴ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2545; *RRH*, no. 1194.

¹⁴⁵ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2670; *RRH*, no. 1204.

¹⁴⁶ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy* (see n. 106), pp. 33-41, no. 1; see *ibid.*, p. 34, n. 6 (date).

¹⁴⁷ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 783; *RRH*, no. 649; see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, pp. 288-95, no. 90 (without the witness lists); Mayer, *Kanzlei*, II, pp. 269 and 878 (date). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁴⁸ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 941; *RRH*, no. 708. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁴⁹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, nos 1031, 1085, 1096; *RRH*, nos 742, 757, 759; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 662 (21 Augustus 1198); fol. 156v (6 September 1199). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁵⁰ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1232 (reg. s. XVIII); *RRH*, no. 817a. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433. In addition, Aimery served his order as commander of Amposta (1200), castellan of Seleucia (1210) and grand commander of the western provinces (1215-6): *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 1114; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, pp. 415 and 433.

5. Jobert (after 22 May) 1207 (Antioch); (after September) 1210 (Antioch)¹⁵¹
6. William of Fores, 18 November 1241, Tripoli¹⁵²
7. Peter, 7 August 1248, Acre¹⁵³
8. Nicholas Lorgne (28 November 1250-1 March 1254) (Margat)¹⁵⁴
9. John of Bubie, 1 March 1254 (Margat); 22 September 1254, Kefer-Kena¹⁵⁵
10. N.N., 29/30 May 1267 (Latin East)¹⁵⁶

We now turn to the Templars' commanders of Antioch. In 1888, Emmanuel G. Rey published some documented lists of Templar officials for the Latin East and Cyprus. His list of commanders of Antioch contains exactly two names, which is a testimony to the loss of the Templars' central archives¹⁵⁷. In 1940, Claude Cahen added three names to this list. This would have been a spectacular increase, however, two of these names were wrong¹⁵⁸. Cahen correctly named Peter of Raiace for 1203, but wrongly included Gilbert of Lacy, who was most likely the Templars' commander of the land of Tripoli in 1163¹⁵⁹, and he wrongly listed Irmengaud, who was the Templars' grand commander in 1198, i.e. one of the highest officials in the central convent¹⁶⁰. There are, however,

¹⁵¹ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, nos 1263 and 1358; *RRH*, no. 820 (part 2). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433. He could be identical with the Gobert, the Hospitaller commander of Antioch on 22 May 1207: *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 1262; *RRH*, no. 820 (part 1). Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 431, n. 3.

¹⁵² *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2280; *RRH*, no. 1102; see *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 632v. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁵³ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2482; *RRH*, no. 1164. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁵⁴ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, no. 183; Pauli, *Codice*, I, pp. 27-8, no. 25; *RRH*, no. 253. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 230, n. 1; *ibid.*, — (not listed on p. 433). The dating of his tenure is discussed in the text above.

¹⁵⁵ *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, nos 2670 and 2693; *RRH*, nos 1204 and 1220. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁵⁶ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy* (see n. 106), pp. 33-41, no. 1; see *ibid.*, p. 34, n. 6 (date). This truce agreement between Baybars and the Hospitallers (among them 'N., castellan of Hisn al-Marqab'), has come down to us through al-Qalquashandi (1355-1418), who had contemporary documents at his disposal; see *ibid.*, pp. 1-2. Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, — (not listed).

¹⁵⁷ Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple', pp. 241-56, 367-79, here pp. 376-7 (Antioch).

¹⁵⁸ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 41.

¹⁵⁹ For Gilbert of Lacy, see William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, II, pp. 873-4 (19.8): 'circa partes Tripolitanas... Gillibertus de Laci, vir nobilis et in armis exercitatus, preceptor fratrum militie Templi in partibus illis'; see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 68-9, n. 21.

¹⁶⁰ For Irmengaud, see *Collection d'Albon* (see n. 7), 59, fol. 17; C. Kohler, 'Chartes de l'abbaye de N.-D. de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre-Sainte (1108-1291): Analyses et extraits', *ROL*, 7 (1900), pp. 108-97, here p. 166, no. 56; *RRH*, no. 740a. Cf. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 41.

two definite additions to report, which brings the list up to five. The first one comes, once again, from the *Inventaire de Manosque*. In this case, the document as such has been known for some time, but the *Inventaire* provides additional information in the form of names: on 7 June 1242, Patriarch Albert of Antioch and representatives of the Hospitallers and of the Templars, among them their commander of Antioch named Pons, agreed on three arbiters to settle their ongoing disputes in the county of Tripoli¹⁶¹. The second 'new' commander comes from the Catalan fragment of the *Rule of the Templars* which states that the aforementioned Gerard of Saucet was the Templars' commander of Antioch when the order abandoned their castle of Gaston¹⁶². The revised list of the Templar commanders of Antioch follows.

Templar commanders of Antioch

1. Peter de Raiace, 1203, Antioch¹⁶³
2. William of Montferrat, (after 24 June) 1237, near Trapesac¹⁶⁴
3. Pons, 7 June 1242 (Antioch)¹⁶⁵
4. Ferrand Spagnolus, 12 May 1249, Limassol¹⁶⁶
5. Gerard of Saucet, 1268 (Antioch, Gaston, La Roche de Guillaume)¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 383; see *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2276 (reg. s. XVIII; dated 7 June 1241); *RRH*, no. 1099a.

¹⁶² *Catalan Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward, pp. 80-6, no. 180.

¹⁶³ *Collection d'Albon* (see n. 7), 47, fol. 240; Trudon des Ormes, *Étude sur les possessions de l'ordre du Temple en Picardie* (see n. 38), pp. 367-8, no. 63; *RRH*, no. 792a. Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple', — (not listed); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 41: 'N. de Raiace'. The Marquis d'Albon's transcription was made from the original (Paris, Archives Nationales, S. 5216, no. 4); unlike Trudon des Ormes' edition, it contains the word *Petri* between *fratris* and *de Raiace*. This official may have been identical with Peter de la Recazi, the Templar commander of Acre in 1198: *Collection d'Albon*, 59, fol. 17; Kohler, 'Chartes de l'abbaye de N.-D. de la vallée de Josaphat' (see n. 160), p. 166, no. 56; *RRH*, no. 740a; Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 146 (reg.).

¹⁶⁴ *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica maiora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols, Rolls series, 57, nos 1-7 (London, 1872-83), III, pp. 404-5. Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple', p. 376; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 41, and p. 650. See Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, pp. 835-6; Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 197.

¹⁶⁵ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 383; see *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, II, no. 2276 (reg. s. XVIII; dated 7 June 1241); *RRH*, no. 1099a. Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple', — (not listed); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed).

¹⁶⁶ Belgrano, *Documenti inediti* (see n. 70), pp. 61-2, no. 32; *RRH*, no. 1176; Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, 231 (reg.). Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple', p. 377; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 517, n. 41.

¹⁶⁷ *Catalan Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward, pp. 80-6, no. 180; Delaville Le Roulx, 'Un nouveau manuscrit' (see n. 103), no. 48; Körner, *Varianten der Barceloner Handschrift* (see n. 103), p. 21. Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple', — (not listed); Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, — (not listed). See Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 248-9; Upton-Ward, 'The Surrender of Gaston', *passim*. According to Körner, *Varianten der Barceloner Handschrift*, p. 21, Gerard originated from the diocese of Limoges and later became commander of the Auvergne (1280-93).

Undoubtedly, future research will allow additional Templar officials to surface. Particularly the Spanish archives might yield new evidence, as they still contain large numbers of unpublished Templar documents, some of which have already proved to contain names of Eastern officials¹⁶⁸.

* * *

Much work remains to be done. In lieu of a conclusion, we now turn to the 'other' military orders in the crusader principality of Antioch. The following short examples indicate that there is, in fact, some fragmentary evidence. (1) In 1180, Bohemond III gave considerable property that belonged to the Assassins to the order of Santiago, however, with the stipulation that they would send a sufficient number of knights to Antioch within a year¹⁶⁹. It seems that Santiago never sent these knights. (2) In 1182, the order of St Lazarus sold, for 120 bezants, the prince of Antioch's annual gift of 500 eels to the Hospitallers¹⁷⁰. We may therefore assume that, by the 1180s, St Lazarus was somehow represented in the city of Antioch because the eels, regardless of the medieval ability to salt and pickle or dry, were probably not transported to that order's headquarters outside the gates of Jerusalem. (3) In March 1219, Raymond-Roupen granted the Teutonic Knights free commerce in his principality¹⁷¹. The fact that the prince extended a prerogative to the Teutonic Knights that, for example, the Hospitallers had held since 1127¹⁷², suggests that this — in 1219 still fairly new — military order had begun to feel its way into northern Syria, and the prince may have hoped to use them to counterbalance the activities of the Templars¹⁷³. (4) Finally, on 20 March 1234, Pope Gregory IX wrote to the patriarch of Antioch and asked him to assign land to the knightly order of Calatrava, as this order

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), pp. 405-6, no 36; pp. 414-5, no. 44.

¹⁶⁹ Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 114-7, no. 3: 'si [a presenti men]se septembri usque ad annum unum cum tanta manu fratrum suorum militum venerint, ut terram sibi a nobis concessam cum dei adiutorio et nostro possint conquirere'; see *ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁷⁰ *Inventaire de Manosque*, fol. 344.

¹⁷¹ E. Strehlke, *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici (ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum)* (Berlin, 1869), ed. H.E. Mayer (Jerusalem and Toronto, 1975), pp. 41-2, no. 51; *RRH*, no. 921.

¹⁷² Hiestand, 'Ein unbekanntes Privileg' (see n. 26), pp. 44-6 (edition).

¹⁷³ See Riley-Smith, 'The Templars and the Teutonic Knights' (see n. 37), pp. 111-5.

wished to settle in those parts, i.e. Antioch¹⁷⁴. So far, I have not found any indication that these settlement plans materialized. As these examples show, 'other' military orders did have ties to the affairs of the crusader principality of Antioch, but these ties were rather marginal. It is to Templars and Hospitallers that the historian must turn to study one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of medieval frontiers — the story of the Amanus mountains and the Orontes valley, the story of cross-cultural encounters and confrontations.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Burgtorf, 'Führungsstrukturen und Funktionsträger' = J. Burgtorf, 'Führungsstrukturen und Funktionsträger in der Zentrale der Templer und Johanniter von den Anfängen bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert' (Ph.D. dissertation, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, 2001) (publication in preparation).
- Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers* = J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)* (Paris, 1904).
- Deschamps, *Châteaux* = P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, 3, La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 90 (Paris, 1973).
- Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri* = M.L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19-1314*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 86 (Göttingen, 1974).
- *Catalan Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward = *The Catalan Rule of the Templars: A critical edition and English translation from Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cartas Reales, MS 3344*, ed. and trans. J. Upton-Ward, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion*, 19 (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten, I* = Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte — Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius, I*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 77 (Göttingen, 1972).
- Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten, II* = R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge — Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius, II*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 135 (Göttingen, 1984).

¹⁷⁴ A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874 and 1875; reprint Graz, 1957), no. 49021. See Prutz, *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden*, pp. 79-80.

- *Inventaire de Manosque* = Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte, 56 H 68, *Inventaire de Manosque, a. 1531* (MS s. XVI). For this important inventory of charters, see Hiestand, II, p. 19.
- Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* = H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Mayer, *Kanzlei* = H.E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols, MGH, Schriften 40, 1 and 2 (Hanover, 1996).
- Pauli, *Codice* = S. Pauli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, 2 vols (Lucca, 1733 and 1737).
- *La Règle du Temple*, ed. Curzon = *La Règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886).
- Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple' = E.G. Rey, 'L'ordre du Temple en Syrie et à Chypre: Les Templiers en Terre Sainte', *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 24 (1888), pp. 241-56, 367-77.
- Riley-Smith, *Knights* = J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050-1310* (London and New York, 1967).
- Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* = R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100-1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898; Amsterdam, 1966).
- *RRH* = R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, I (Innsbruck, 1893; reprint New York, 1963); II, *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1904; reprint New York, 1963).
- Upton-Ward, 'The Surrender of Gaston' = J. Upton-Ward, 'The Surrender of Gaston and the Rule of the Templars', in *The Military Orders, I, Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 179-88.

ANTIOCH: MEDIEVAL CITY OF CULTURE

SUSAN B. EDGINGTON

In 1098 Antioch was captured by Latin Christians after a long and gruelling siege. The city the crusaders took retained some remnants of its glorious past, but it was subjected to fire, pillage and slaughter. An eyewitness reported that the crusaders killed 'all the Turks and Saracens whom they found there except for those who fled up to the citadel', but also: 'All the streets of the city on every side were full of corpses, so that no-one could endure to be there because of the stench, nor could anyone walk along the narrow paths of the city except over the corpses of the dead.'¹ This suggests strongly that the invaders had not distinguished between the Seljuk garrison and the inhabitants of the city, whether Muslim or Christian, an inference made explicit by another commentator:

The [crusaders] were putting the Turks to the sword ... They spared none of the gentiles on grounds of age or sex until the earth was covered with blood and the corpses of the slaughtered, many of them also the killed and lifeless bodies of Christians, Gauls as well as Greeks, Syrians and Armenians mixed together. No wonder, since there had still been darkness ... with the light scarcely discernible, and they were entirely unaware whom they should spare or whom they should strike, for very many Turks and Saracens, fearing for their lives, deceived the pilgrims with speech and tokens of the Christian faith, and so they lost their lives in the common massacre. There were ten thousand killed whose bodies lay all over the quarters and streets of the town and had been killed by the Gauls' weapons².

Although Albert of Aachen was not an eye-witness, his awareness of the presence of Greek, Syrian and Armenian Christians within the city is evidence of the quality of his information, even though the figure of 10,000 dead should not be taken literally. Nevertheless, the evidence points to a great and indiscriminate massacre of Antioch's inhabitants. And yet there is considerable evidence that the cosmopolitan intellectual

¹ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 47-8.

² Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, iv. 23, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford [in print]).

life of the city continued through the early years of Latin rule, if not unchecked or unchanged. The purpose of this paper is to investigate this persistence, and to offer explanations for its eventual attenuation³.

Antioch had been founded (c. 300 B.C.) and designed as a cosmopolitan city, an outpost in Asia of the Hellenic Empire. The apogee of Antioch's fame and influence was as capital of the Roman province of Syria (from 64 B.C.), when it was a city comparable in size and splendour with Alexandria or Rome itself⁴. In the fourth century Libanios, the sophist of the city, accounted for its numerous population thus:

There is no city from which we have not welcomed some part. ... They have moved either in their desire for luxury, or for business reasons, or to demonstrate their learning, or to be rid of their poverty. ... If a person sat down in our market square here he will scrape an acquaintance with every city in the world, so numerous will be the people from all quarters with whom he will come into contact. ... This immigration to our city began in the distant past and has never stopped, nor will it ever do so, I think. Naturally therefore our city has experienced an increase in population⁵.

Libanios's purpose in writing was to deplore the new fashion for Latin and to defend the teaching of Greek; he depicted a multitude of teachers and students and a thriving intellectual community⁶.

Among the immigrants were some of the earliest Christians, including Sts Peter and Paul⁷. The Apostles preached to the Greeks in Antioch only after they addressed the Jews, thus attesting another important linguistic group⁸. Although Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) persecuted Christians in Antioch, under Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-37) it

³ It will be evident that I am greatly indebted to the work of Charles Burnett and Rudolf Hiestand (cited below).

⁴ Glanville Downey, 'The Size of the Population of Antioch', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 89 (1958), pp. 84-91, brings together the documentary evidence. The population may have been as much as 500,000 at its height. It is now 150,000: *Turkey: Blue Guide*, ed. B. McDonagh (London, 2001), p. 534.

⁵ *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanios*, trans. A.F. Norman (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 39-40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

⁷ For the early Christian community in Antioch, see Glanville Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton, N.J., 1963), pp. 120-42.

⁸ Acts 11: 19-30. Perhaps a fifth of the population were Jews at the time: M. Counsell, *Every Pilgrim's Guide to the Journeys of the Apostles* (Norwich, 2002), p. 55; cf. Wayne A. Meeks and Robert L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (Missoula, M.T., 1978), p. 8.

became the seat of one of the patriarchs, and ten councils of the church were held there⁹. It was a seedbed of Christian heresy as well — Arius and Eusebios were both educated in Antioch. On the side of orthodoxy, St John Chrysostom, the great patriarch of Constantinople, was born in Antioch (c. A.D. 345) and studied under Libanios. The numerous Christian monasteries were one source of intellectual activity in later centuries¹⁰.

Antioch's prosperity under the Byzantines was ended by a series of massive earthquakes in the sixth century¹¹, and it was also sacked and burnt by the Persians. Although Justinian rebuilt the city, it was recaptured by the Persians and then by the Arabs, and it was not until A.D. 969 that Antioch returned to Byzantine hands, recaptured by Nikephoros II Phokas. At this point the population had become Arabic- or Syriac-speaking: it is hard to determine which¹². The first of our influential writers, Ibn Buṭlān, wrote in Arabic. Ibn Buṭlān was a Christian, born in Baghdad, who travelled widely. He first visited Antioch in the 1040s, and his vivid description indicates why he chose to settle there towards the end of his life:

In the middle of the town is the citadel ... a palatial building ... and round the palace are halls in which are accommodated the judges of the [Byzantine] government, and the teachers of grammar and language. ... There is an innumerable amount of churches; they are all adorned with gold mosaic work, coloured glass and mosaic pavement. In the town is also a hospital in which the patients are under the personal care of the Patriarch. In the town are, moreover, agreeable and excellent baths. ... In Antioch is a shaikh who is known as Abu Nasr ibn al-'Attar ('the son of the druggist'). He is chief judge of the town, has some knowledge in sciences, and is of agreeable conversation and understanding¹³.

⁹ Counsell, *ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁰ Though not in their early years: see J.H.W.G. Liebschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 234-5.

¹¹ It was asserted that over 250,000 were killed in the quake of 526: Downey, 'Population' (see n. 4), pp. 90-1.

¹² Christian Cannuyer, 'Langues usuelles et liturgiques des Melkites au XIIIe s.', *Oriens Christianus*, 70 (1986), pp. 110-7. Cannuyer addresses the passage in Jacques de Vitry, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia*, in the ed. of J. Bongars (Hanover, 1611), i. 24.

¹³ Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo: A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning among the Arabs* (Cairo: The Egyptian University, 1937), pp. 54-5, quoting Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*.

Ibn Buṭlān's skill as a physician practising in Aleppo was recorded by Usāmah Ibn Munqidh¹⁴. (He also tells how Ibn Buṭlān was attached to the service of his great-grandfather and recognized an untreatable case of teenage acne in his son, Usāmah's grandfather.) He is remembered for his involvement in a notorious dispute with a rival physician, Ibn Ridwan of Egypt¹⁵. This obliged him to leave Cairo, and after visiting Constantinople he returned to Antioch, where he became a monk and where he died (not before 458/1066). According to his biographer he was entrusted with the building of a hospital in the city, and for this hospital he wrote a discourse on how Greek rules of treatment had been modified by Arab physicians¹⁶. For his monastic community he wrote a compendium: *On the Management of Diseases for the Most Part through Common Foodstuffs and Available Medicaments, Specifically for the Use of Monks of the Monasteries and Whoever is Far from the City*¹⁷. This has never been translated. Ibn Buṭlān is better known for an earlier work, *Taqwim al-sihhah*, or 'Almanac of Health', which was translated into Latin in the later Middle Ages as *Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina*¹⁸. We shall touch on the transmission of this text later, but at this point it may be noted that Ibn Buṭlān acknowledged the influence of Hippocrates, Galen and other Greek physicians, as well as Arabic sources¹⁹. Ibn Buṭlān's monastery survived both the Seljuk conquest of Antioch in 1084 and the city's siege and capture by the crusaders in 1098²⁰.

Symeon Seth, known as 'the Antiochene' and a younger contemporary of Ibn Buṭlān, also wrote on diet, but in Greek and for an exalted audience, Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071-8)²¹. Although he drew

¹⁴ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, pp. 214-7.

¹⁵ Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy* (see n. 13); *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Ridwan's Treatise 'On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt'*, trans. Michael W. Dols (Berkeley, 1984); Lawrence Conrad, 'Scholarship and Social Context: A Medical Case from the Eleventh-Century Near East', in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, ed. Don Bates (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 84-100.

¹⁶ See Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy* (see n. 13), p. 65.

¹⁷ Translation of title from <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/mon2.html> accessed 27/06/2002.

¹⁸ *Le Taqwim al-Sihha (Tacuini sanitatis) d'Ibn Butlan: Un traité médical du XIe siècle*, ed. H. Elkhadem (Leuven, 1990).

¹⁹ Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Medieval Dietetics: Food and Drink in Regimen sanitatis Literature from 800 to 1400* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), p. 90.

²⁰ For a survey of churches and religious houses, see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 127-32, 323-5.

²¹ *Symeonis Sethi syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. B. Langkavel (Leipzig, 1868).

on the same range of sources — the standard works on health in the Middle Ages — his work is completely individual and little resembles other dietaries of the period, not least because it is arranged alphabetically. He also wrote a treatise on physics for the emperor, and a treatise entitled *On the Utility of the Heavenly Bodies*²². Attributed to the same author is a Greek translation of the Arabic text of the Indian tale *Khalila wa Dimna*, produced for Alexios I Komnenos²³. Symeon's career is more shadowy than Ibn Buṭlān's, and its later part was in Constantinople, but his scientific knowledge was drawn from Arabic authors: Paul Magdalino has recently shown 'that the Latin world regarded astronomy and astrology as Arabic sciences, even in those Mediterranean areas recently detached from Byzantium where Greek was still written and spoken'²⁴. The activities of Ibn Buṭlān and Symeon Seth attest the vitality of Antioch's intellectual life under the Byzantines in the eleventh century. The Seljuk occupation in 1084 does not appear to have disrupted the activities of the citizens. Were they affected by the long siege and violent capture of the city in 1098?

The survival of a mixture of languages and peoples is attested in many sources. Walter the Chancellor, writing of the earthquake in November 1114, refers to there being 'Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, strangers and pilgrims' in Antioch at the time²⁵. He does not mention Jews, but an enduring if diminished presence is noted by the traveller Benjamin of Tudela in the 1170s²⁶. Another traveller, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, wrote admiringly of Antioch in the early thirteenth century: 'That very city has many rich inhabitants: Franks and Syrians, Greeks and Jews, Armenians and Saracens; the Franks rule them all and all of them obey their laws.'²⁷ The particular 'Franks' who were the early princes of Antioch were Normans from southern Italy: the captor Bohemond of Taranto, his nephew

²² *Anecdota Atheniensia*, ed. A. Delatte (Liège and Paris, 1939), II, pp. 17-89, 91-126.

²³ L.-O. Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichneutes: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia*, 2 (Uppsala, 1962).

²⁴ P. Magdalino, 'The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers: A Commentary on *Alexiad* VI. 7. 1-7', in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Ch. Dendrinos a.o. (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 15-31.

²⁵ Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's 'The Antiochene Wars': A Translation and Commentary* (Aldershot, 1999), p. 81.

²⁶ Ten Jewish heads of household engaged in glass-making: *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler (Oxford, 1907), p. 16.

²⁷ *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1873²), p. 172.

Tancred and their kinsman Roger of Salerno. Their provenance should be borne in mind: their forebears had expelled the Byzantines from mainland south Italy and the Muslim rulers from Sicily, but they had established their rule over the remaining Greek and Muslim population and only gradually changed the area from a frontier between Greek East and Latin West, and Christian north and Muslim south, to an unequivocal part of the Christian West²⁸. Learning flourished at Montecassino and, newly, at Salerno, which became a centre for scientific translation. It would be straining probability to suggest that Bohemond coveted Antioch for its multi-cultural milieu, but he and his immediate successors had some experience of dealing with the sort of mixture of peoples Antioch contained within its walls.

A second and pre-existing link with Western Europe was via the Italian city-states. Amalfi had enjoyed the favour of the Byzantines and had settled on the pilgrimage routes to Constantinople and beyond. The Amalfitans' part in establishing the hospital (or hospice) in Jerusalem is well known, but they also had a quarter in Antioch and a hospice there in the eleventh century²⁹. Under the Franks Amalfi and Genoa, which also had a quarter³⁰, were eclipsed by their rival city Pisa, which gained a quarter in Antioch as well as a large part of the port of Latakia from Tancred in 1108³¹. The grant reflects the general importance of the Pisans during the conquest of the coast, including Latakia, but more especially the close alliance between Tancred and Daimbert of Pisa, papal legate and controversial patriarch of Jerusalem³². Pisa's role in the transmission of texts and translations from Antioch will be examined later.

²⁸ Graham Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), p. 291.

²⁹ Monique Amouroux, 'Colonization and the Creation of Hospitals: the Eastern Extension of Western Hospitality in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 14 (1999), pp. 31-43, at 34.

³⁰ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 130.

³¹ Charles Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des croisades*, ed. Isabelle Draelants, Anne Tihon and Baudouin Van den Abele (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 1-78, at 4, n. 12; *Regesta regni hierosolymitani*, ed. Reinhold Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893), no. 53.

³² See, for example, Alan V. Murray, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 81-102, at p. 82; for a partial account of Daimbert's career, see Michael Matzke, 'Daiberto e la Prima Crociata', *Opera della Primaziale Pisana*, 5 (1995), pp. 95-129.

The institutions of the crusader state of Antioch have recently been reassessed, and it was concluded that Byzantine offices were adapted to suit the purposes of the Latin rulers³³. Latin therefore became the language of administration, but it did not displace the use of Arabic for everyday purposes. Able men and educated writers from Western Europe occupied influential positions, for example Walter the Chancellor, author of *The Antiochene Wars* (c. 1114-22)³⁴, and Patriarch Aimery (1140-93).

In the early days of Latin occupation Antioch also continued to attract travellers from near and far. One of Walter's 'strangers' present in Antioch at the time of the earthquake of November 1114³⁵, was Adelard — author of the popular *Quaestiones Naturales* — who had been born in Bath (England), had spent time in Laon (northern France), and had journeyed to Syria via southern Italy, Sicily and Greece: he described being shaken by the quake as he crossed a bridge at Mamistra³⁶. Adelard's modern biographer has made much of the possibility that he learnt his Arabic in Antioch, since he spoke of Arab masters and also mentioned an old man of Tarsus who explained methods of dissection for the study of anatomy. He could equally well have learnt the language in Sicily, but his choosing to travel thereafter to Antioch does suggest that he expected to find it a centre of scientific learning³⁷. Burnett has made a persuasive case for Adelard's having brought manuscripts back from Antioch to Bath³⁸.

A better known translator working in Antioch at this time was Stephen of Pisa, who made the first complete translation into Latin of al-Majūsī's *kitāb al-malakī*, which he called *Regalis dispositio*. He also compiled a catalogue and glossary of Greek *materia medica*³⁹. Stephen's

³³ Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 181-94; idem, 'The "Crusader" Community at Antioch: The Impact of Interaction with Byzantium and Islam', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 9 (1999), pp. 305-25, at 313-6.

³⁴ Asbridge and Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's 'The Antiochene Wars'* (see n. 25).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁶ Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* (London, 1994), p. 34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-50.

³⁸ Burnett, 'Antioch as a link' (see n. 31), pp. 2-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-9.

activities suggest, firstly, that Pisa was not only an important centre for translation from Greek to Latin, but also provided a route for Arabic texts⁴⁰. Secondly, a generation into Latin rule in Outremer, important Arabic texts were available in Antioch, and at least two scholars from Western Europe had access to them. Stephen's translation of al-Majūsī was made in 1127 and it is known to have been used by a physician in Hildesheim before 1140⁴¹. It was to be immensely influential in Western medicine⁴².

This evidence seems robust enough to make a case for continuity of culture through the period of conquest and settlement, but did it last into the second half of the twelfth century? Around the middle of the century there is a story told by Usāmah ibn Munqidh to illustrate the civilizing influence of the Muslims on the Frankish population:

I dispatched one of my men to Antioch on business. There was in Antioch at that time al-Ra'īs Theodoros Sophianos to whom I was bound by mutual ties of amity. His influence in Antioch was supreme. One day he said to my man, 'I am invited by a friend of mine who is a Frank. Thou shouldst come with me so that thou mayest see their fashions.' My man related the story in the following words: 'I went along with him and we came to the home of a knight who belonged to the old category of knights who came with the early expeditions of the Franks. He had been by that time stricken off the register and exempted from service, and possessed in Antioch an estate on the income of which he lived. The knight presented an excellent table, with food extraordinarily clean and delicious. Seeing me abstaining from food, he said, "Eat, be of good cheer! I never eat Frankish dishes, but I have Egyptian women cooks and never eat except their cooking. Besides, pork never enters my home." I ate, but guardedly, and after that we departed.'⁴³

The rest of the tale is how the merchant is rescued from a Frankish lynch-mob by his host, but the story is more remarkable for Usāmah's friendship with the influential Greek; the Greek's with the Frankish veteran, and the readiness of both to socialize with a Syrian visitor. Multiculturalism, then, but is it reflected in high culture?

The pre-eminent original work of literature of this time was the *Chanson des Chétifs*, the epic poem written for Raymond of Poitiers (1136-49).

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁴² See Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 53-4, 97-106; Adamson, *Medieval Dietetics* (see n. 19), pp. 42-9.

⁴³ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, pp. 169-70.

The anonymous poet tells us that he was rewarded with the post of canon at St Peter's and that he had not completed the work when his patron died; Graindor de Douai, who reworked the poem, claims that the poet died in Outremer and his poem was preserved by the patriarch and soon transmitted to Western Europe⁴⁴. Because the poem survives only in Graindor's version, its literary merits cannot be established, and anyway they are irrelevant. It has no intrinsic historical worth. Cahen considered that it was rooted in Western traditions, though he also suggested that the poet may have been aware of oriental epics, of which the best known is Digenes Akritas. There is, however, no probability that the poet knew any language except the Frankish dialect in which he wrote.

Cahen is able to make a case for the monasteries of northern Syria remaining 'important centres of intellectual life for Christians living under the rule of the Franks'⁴⁵. In the Latin church Patriarch Aimery kept open communication with his peers in Antioch and other communities. His correspondence demonstrates a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek⁴⁶. One recipient was the Pisan theologian Hugh Etherianus, and a text Aimery sent to Pope Eugenius III was translated by Burgundio of Pisa, further evidence that links with Pisa — in these cases via Constantinople — were a probable route for communication and influence between Antioch and Western Europe⁴⁷. During his long career in and out of power (1140-93), Aimery was patron of the *Chétifs*' poet and of Nersēs of Lampron, who was fluent in Latin, Greek and Syriac⁴⁸. He was also the friend of the Jacobite patriarch, Michael the Syrian.

Michael the Syrian resided only occasionally and for months at a time in his patriarchal city, but his *Chronicle* attests his own contribution to cultural and intercultural exchange. His relationships with both Muslim and Latin rulers in the region were cordial and his movements from the one territory to the other were not inhibited. Notably, he seems to have

⁴⁴ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 570.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 577 and n. 36.

⁴⁶ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 38-50; Rudolf Hiestand, 'Un centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus', *Le Moyen Age*, 100 (1994), pp. 7-36, at 9, 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13; Krijnie Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople — The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 271-2.

⁴⁸ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 570; Bernard Hamilton, 'Aimery of Limoges, Latin Patriarch of Antioch (c. 1142-c. 1196), and the Unity of the Churches', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, II, pp. 1-12, at p. 10.

established a friendship with Patriarch Aimery, whose activities were discussed above. Michael's interests were much wider than his own Monophysite church and he participated in discussions with the Orthodox church instigated by Emperor Manuel in 1170-72, at first by correspondence with the emperor and then by sending representatives to meetings. On the second occasion he was represented by his pupil Theodore bar Wahbūn, who was said to have known Greek, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic and to have run rings around the Byzantine Theorianos by his mastery of Greek philosophy⁴⁹. Michael was also invited to attend the Third Lateran Council; he declined to attend, but wrote a treatise on the Cathar heresy for consideration at the council. This does not survive, but like his other works was probably written in Syriac, the language of the Jacobite church. Michael's chronicle drew on sources in Greek, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic⁵⁰. He is reputed to have written, copied and illuminated with his own hand⁵¹. (Much of this activity took place at his monastery at Barsauma which evidently had a well stocked library: it was badly damaged by fire and Michael reported as a 'miracle' that the only books damaged were 'superfluous' ones, and those in constant use survived intact.)⁵²

The evidence is sparse for this later period, but I suggest that Patriarch Aimery did not represent the tip of an iceberg of submerged intercultural activity, but rather an isolated survival into less cultured times — a rapidly melting ice floe. The use of the different vernaculars for the *Chétifs* and Michael the Syrian's chronicle suggests the fragmentation of intellectual life in Antioch. Neither of these very different literary works was translated into Latin, for example. A unique survival in the Sicilian archives illustrates the breakdown of multi-lingualism in administrative affairs: it is a translation into Arabic of a Latin charter, dated 1213, apparently made to settle a dispute with a priest of the Greek church⁵³. The parties to the dispute seem to have no shared language.

⁴⁹ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 195-9.

⁵⁰ According to *Chronique de Michel le Grand*, Langlois, p. 9; cf. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, I, p. xxxvi.

⁵¹ Anonymous chronicler, cited in *ibid.*, p. xx.

⁵² *Ibid.*, III, p. 392.

⁵³ Claude Cahen, 'Un document concernant les Melkites et les Latins d'Antioche au temps des croisades', *Revue des études byzantines*, 29 (1971), pp. 285-92.

The 'intercultural' career of Theodore of Antioch at first sight belies this inference⁵⁴. Our informant about Theodore's early life is Gregory Bar 'Ebrōyō, himself living in Antioch in the 1240s, a prolific writer among whose works — besides the better known histories — was a condensed version of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides and Ahmad al-Ghāfiqī — evidence of his own linguistic range⁵⁵. Theodore the Antiochene was (like Bar 'Ebrōyō) a Jacobite. In Antioch he studied the Syriac and Latin languages as well as 'some of the sciences of the ancients', i.e. Greek philosophy or science⁵⁶. However, Theodore went on to Mosul to study philosophy and mathematics, and later to Baghdad to study medicine, so, although Antioch may have equipped him linguistically, higher scholarship seems not to have been available there. Theodore's first patron was the regent of Armenia and then he joined a messenger who was returning to the court of Emperor Frederick II and became philosopher to the court. He was respected as a mathematician, but also worked as a translator: at the request of scholars at Padua he turned into Latin Averroes' introduction to his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, and he also translated Aristotle's *De animalibus*⁵⁷. For the emperor he translated from Arabic a treatise on falconry⁵⁸.

As a physician Theodore was renowned in his lifetime and afterwards⁵⁹. Petrus Hispanus (later Pope John XXI) studied medicine under Theodore, 'the emperor's physician'⁶⁰. Theodore's only extant medical work is the *Epistola Theodori philosophi ad imperatorem Fridericum*, a short treatise in which he advises his patron of the rules for the preservation of health⁶¹. It is written in elegant Latin and shows an impressive

⁵⁴ See Benjamin Z. Kedar and Etan Kohlberg, 'The Intercultural Career of Theodore of Antioch', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 10 (1995), pp. 164-76.

⁵⁵ *The Abridged Version of the 'Book of Simple Drugs' of Ahmad ibn Muhammed al-Ghāfiqī by Gregorius abu'l-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, ed. M. Meyerhof and G.P. Sobhy, 4 vols in 3, incomplete (Cairo, 1932-8); see also Herman Teule, 'The Crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic Secular Chronicles: A Different Approach', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, 1, pp. 39-51.

⁵⁶ Kedar and Kohlberg, 'The Intercultural Career' (see n. 54), p. 166. They publish as an appendix a translation of the relevant part of Bar 'Ebrōyō's *Dynastic History*, pp. 175-6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-9; Adamson, *Medieval Dietetics* (see n. 19), p. 96.

⁶⁰ Kedar and Kohlberg, 'The Intercultural Career' (see. n. 53), p. 168.

⁶¹ Edited by Karl Sudhoff, 'Ein diätischer Brief an Kaiser Friedrich II. von seinem Hofphilosophen Magister Theodorus', *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 9 (1915), pp. 1-9, at 4-7.

command of both classical and Arabic learning, including the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*⁶². The *Epistola* is one of the earliest Western dietaries drawing on Arabic sources⁶³. However, for Antioch Theodore's career provides unsatisfactory evidence. On the one hand, his mastery of languages and his love of learning seem to have been fostered there, but on the other, he had to go to Baghdad for his medical training and his appointment to the court at Palermo seems to have been opportunistic rather than planned.

The Sicilian court was certainly a milieu in which Eastern learning could thrive, and it was there that the *Takwīm al-sihhah* of Ibn Butlān, Antiochene-by-adoption, was first translated into Latin in the second half of the thirteenth century — one manuscript says for Manfred (1232-66), another for his successor Charles of Anjou (d. 1285)⁶⁴. This was a full, tabulated text. Later the text was abridged and it became a collection of lavish illustrations, each captioned with a few lines. The related manuscripts which preserve this version — which became very popular — were executed in the fourteenth century in the Po Valley⁶⁵. However, by this time any traceable link with Antioch is non-existent. The city had fallen to the Mamluks in 1268, but this did not result in an exodus of scholars or codices — in fact one of the problems with Antioch as hypothetical medieval city of culture is the lack of evidence in the form of manuscripts in Western collections.

The evidence, therefore, is that intellectual life in Antioch survived the crusader conquest of 1098, and under its early rulers there was considerable traffic in ideas and personnel between Antioch and the West, channelled through Sicily, the homeland of the early princes, and through the city of Pisa, already a centre of scientific translation. By the thirteenth century the position had changed. Antioch remained linguistically diverse, but it could no longer attract or cater for international scholarship. This may have been a consequence of external politics —

⁶² Ibid., p. 8; Kedar and Kohlberg, 'The Intercultural Career' (see n. 54), pp. 168-9; Adamson, *Medieval Dietetics* (see n. 19), p. 96.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁴ H. Elkhadem, 'Le *Taqwīm al-Sihha (Tacuini sanitatis)*: Un traité de diététique et d'hygiène du XIe siècle', in *Voeding en Geneeskunde / Alimentation et médecine*, ed. R. Jansen-Sieben and F. Daelemans (Brussels, 1993), pp. 75-93.

⁶⁵ Carmélia Opsomer, *L'art de vivre en santé: Images et recettes du moyen âge* (Paris, 1991), p. 24; see also Luisa Cogliati Arano, *The Medieval Health Handbook: 'Tacuinum sanitatis'* (New York, 1976), pp. 12-3.

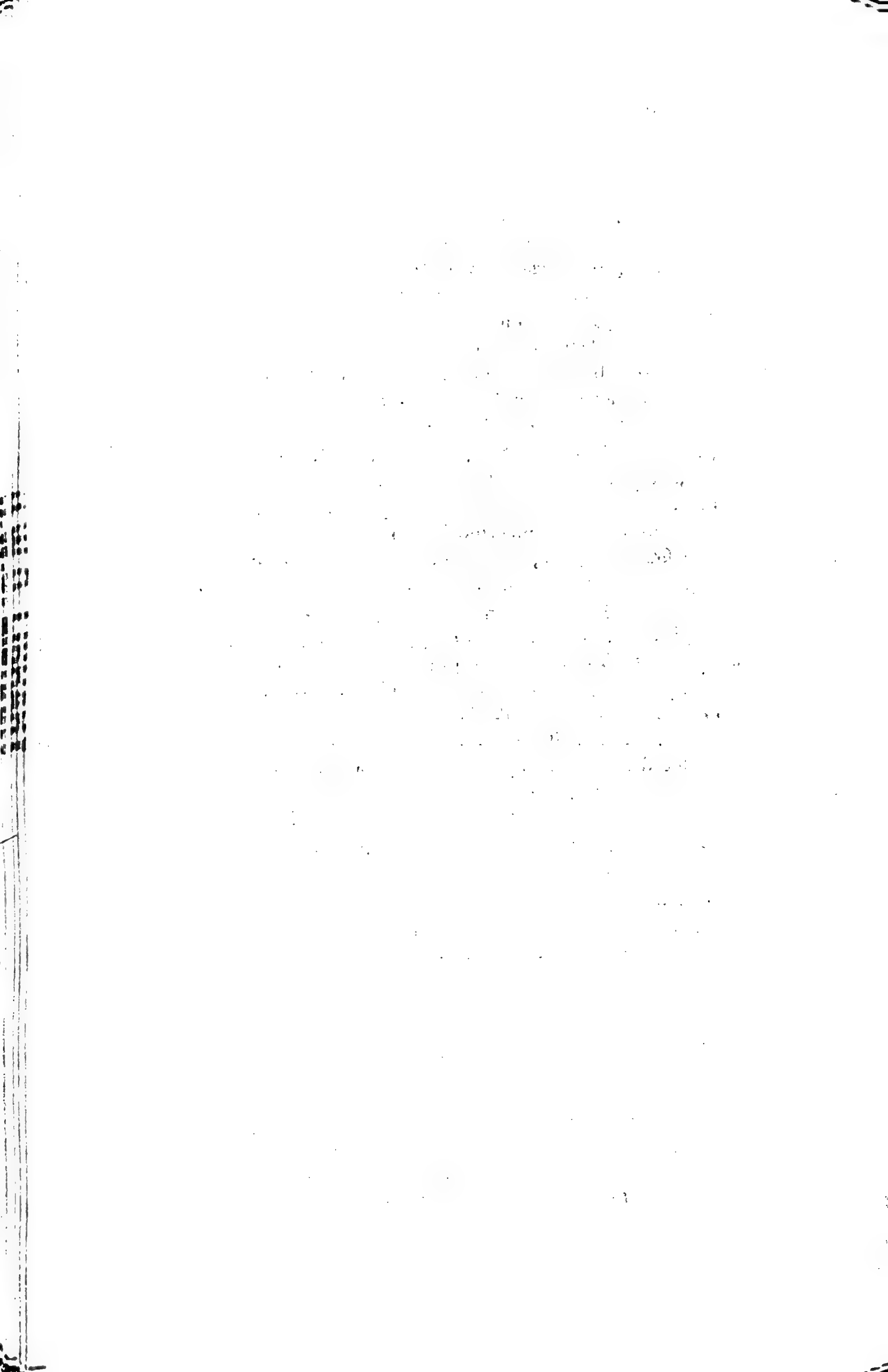
the loss of nearby Edessa to Zengi, the rise of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin's over-running the kingdom of Jerusalem all happened in the space of half a century (1144-87) — or internal politics, since after Bohemond II (d. 1130) the principality passed into the hands of rulers who had no direct experience of Sicily and southern Italy. Pisa (along with Amalfi) was to find itself eclipsed by the ascendancy of Venice. Or perhaps the vexatious relationship with Byzantium provides a sufficient explanation: Metcalf's observation that Antiochene coins show no Byzantine influence after the 1130s could be evidence for a cooling in the exchange of ideas as well as in diplomatic relations⁶⁶.

A detailed reading of Michael the Syrian's account of the 1170s in Antioch suggests an additional factor: it is a veritable jeremiad of natural disasters. In a major earthquake the wall on the river bank collapsed and the great church of the Greeks was completely destroyed; the sanctuary of St Peter's Church fell, along with other churches and houses; about 50 people died. There was a four-year famine at the beginning of the 1170s, aggravated by plagues of locusts, and a severe drought in 1176. A flood in 1178 bore away homes and public buildings and many people and animals were drowned, while in the following year a great fire destroyed many buildings around the Church of St Peter. Famine and disease, and more locusts plagued the 1180s⁶⁷. How disruptive these events were cannot be gauged: although Michael refers to rebuilding he does not provide the detailed account of government intervention that Walter does for the devastating earthquake of 1114⁶⁸. It is possible, however, that, taken in conjunction with the political changes of the same period, they provide some explanation for the cultural isolation of Antioch in the thirteenth century.

⁶⁶ D.M. Metcalf, 'Islamic, Byzantine and Latin Influences in the Iconography of Crusader Coins and Seals', *East and West in the Crusader States*, II, pp. 163-75, at p. 175.

⁶⁷ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, pp. 339, 357, 367, 376-7, 391-2, 412.

⁶⁸ *Walter the Chancellor's 'The Antiochene Wars'* (see n. 25), pp. 80-5.



ADAPTATION TO ORIENTAL LIFE BY RULERS IN
AND AROUND ANTIOCH
EXAMPLES AND EXEMPLA

KRIJNIE N. CIGGAAR*

‘But they constitute the exception and cannot be treated as a rule’, Usāmah ibn Munqidh¹

Life in the newly conquered territories overseas offered many features unknown to Western eyes. Houses were taken over, local foodstuffs eaten; these were, to some extent, trivialities for which there was no free choice. Other elements of Eastern life had to be adopted on one’s own initiative. Usāmah ibn Munqidh made the following statement about westerners. ‘Among the Franks are those who have been acclimatized and have associated long with the Muslims. These are much better than the recent comers from the Frankish lands. But they constitute the exception and cannot be treated as a rule’². This statement illustrates the adoption of a new lifestyle by some Frankish families as seen by Usāmah ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), member of the ruling family in Shayzar, a former Byzantine town (Caesarea on the Orontes), some 60 km south of Antioch. The rulers of Antioch alternately had friendly and hostile relations with his family. Usāmah continues his observations, describing a dinner party attended by one of his men at the house of a Latin knight in Antioch where pork was never eaten and where Egyptian women did the cooking. His man had been invited too and they were offered an excellent meal.

Somewhat earlier in what is generally believed to be his autobiography, Usāmah describes how another Latin knight goes to a bathhouse in

* I am grateful to Michael Metcalf for some valuable suggestions.

Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

- Hillenbrand, *Crusades* = C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999).

¹ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, p. 169.

² Usāmah, *Memoirs*, p. 169; see also p. 163, where he makes an almost identical statement, saying, ‘Everyone who is a fresh emigrant from the Frankish lands is ruder in character than those who have become acclimatized and have held long association with the Muslims.’

Maarat Naam, south of Antioch, on the Orontes. At one point, he sends for his daughter to join him³. The knight apparently speaks Arabic, since he addresses the bath-keeper as Salim and has a conversation with him. Usāmah's autobiography gives other stories which have been considered as *exempla*, stories with a moral. These stories are possibly true, or have at least a kernel of truth in them, and we may use them to appreciate Latin life in Syria. He wrote or dictated his text at the age of 90, surveying his life and wanting to teach by means of such tales⁴.

His statement that the first generation of Frankish settlers was more inclined to adapt to their new surroundings than were their successors is interesting. We do not know if this only applies to luxuries or also to more trivial aspects of life. The local population in Syria and its elite appreciated this, witness Usāmah's statement.

It may be interesting to see to what extent his statement about adaptation is true, and to see which of the newcomers took initiatives and how it affected Latin life in Outremer. At a later stage, after more research, a discussion should take place on whether and how this new lifestyle affected life in the home countries.

In that section of his book where Usāmah discusses the character of the Franks, we find some stories, such as the story of the bathhouse in Maarat, which seem rather trivial. The bath-keeper, Salim, who later served Usāmah's father, had apparently told him the story of the Latin knight. Another, almost similar story, is told about a bathhouse in Tyre, where a westerner was also accompanied by his daughter. According to local tradition, the sexes were strictly segregated in these institutions and it must have been a shocking experience for the local population to see this change in their daily life. They may have appreciated some adaptation but not this. It is likely that these stories go back to the early time of Latin rule in Syria. Below I would like to reconsider a recent statement that 'each detail of this story [i.e. the story of Maarat], is carefully selected to put down the Franks'⁵.

Here I shall discuss a few aspects of oriental life which, at first sight, appear to be trivialities in the life of westerners in Outremer: bathing and shaving. They were not only the concern of Arab writers. Western sources on Outremer also show an interest in them and seem to have had

³ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, p. 165.

⁴ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, pp. 14, 17; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 45.

⁵ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, pp. 165, 166; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp. 276, 278-9, considers these stories solely from the point of view of anecdotal material. She suggests that Usāmah is writing a farce about the Franks in order to criticise them, *ibid.*, p. 279.

a preoccupation with beards. They suggest that the two activities were more than just trivial things in the daily life of the Frankish population in Outremer.

One wonders what the situation in Antioch was like, as far as bathhouses were concerned. The city had been one of the major cities in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire before it was conquered by the Turks in 1085. The Turks had obtained Antioch by betrayal, not by battle. They had probably left the Byzantine town and its infrastructure intact, including the bathhouses. In Islamic culture, bathing was an essential part of daily life for religious purposes. Going to the baths was a luxurious and pleasant pastime for those who were well-off.

The stratum of Roman and Byzantine civilization on which the Arabs superimposed their culture, had certainly played a role in incorporating baths into their culture⁶. In the Byzantine world, as in other civilizations, bathing was an important element of religious life⁷. An interesting example can be found in a letter sent by Ibn Butlan to a friend in Baghdad. Ibn Butlan, a Christian Arab, visited Antioch in 1051 and wrote:

In the town is a hospital where the patriarch himself tends the sick; and every year he causes the lepers to enter the bath, and he washes their hair with his own hands. Likewise the king [the emperor of Constantinople] also does this service every year to the poor. The greatest of the lords and patricians vie in obtaining of him permission to wash these poor people, after the like fashion, and serve them. In this city there are hot baths, such as you can find the equal nowhere else in any other town for luxury and excellence; for they are heated with myrtle wood, and the water flows in torrents, and with no scant⁸.

Here we see just one aspect of bathing in Byzantium, the humble attitude of the patriarch and the emperor tending the sick and poor. But in Antioch there was also the luxury of warm baths heated with odoriferous woods for the lay people. Water was abundantly available in Antioch where aqueducts brought fresh water into the town. The population made great use of it for irrigation works, as we learn from crusader documents. Water for household purposes and private bathing and cleaning was

⁶ *EI* ², s.v. hamam.

⁷ H. Hunger, 'Zum Badewesen in byzantinischen Klöstern', in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 367 (Vienna, 1980), pp. 354-64; A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich, 1982), index s.v. Antiocheia; P. Magdalino, 'Church, Bath and *Diakonia* in Medieval Constantinople', in *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham, 1990), pp. 165-88.

⁸ G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), p. 371

brought into private houses by a system of pipelines. It is not surprising that within the walls of Antioch and in its summer resorts, like Daphne, and monasteries in the vicinity, a number of bathhouses had survived foreign rule. Other crusader cities are also known to have had bathhouses, apparently on a more limited scale. In the countryside a number of them had fallen into ruin or was no longer recognized or used as such⁹.

We saw how the bath-keeper Salim was shocked by the Latin knight who sent for his daughter. But what could he do? Could he protest against the new rulers and their new 'rules'? It may have been the reason why he left Maarat and took service with Usāmah's father in Shayzar. However, without explicitly saying so and without intentionally ridiculing them, Usāmah too here refers to a new form of behaviour among the Latins. In spite of their bad reputation as to bodily hygiene in the eyes of the Arabs, some Latins did go to bathhouses. In her recent book, Carole Hillenbrand referred to the stereotypical characteristic, or rather defect, of the Franks, of not taking good care of their bodies, quoting a number of Arabic writers who were in a position to meet these Franks and could, or thought they could, therefore pass judgement. Interesting is al-Qazwini (d. 1283) who, in a geographical work on the countries of the world and their inhabitants, wrote of the Franks in the West that 'they do not cleanse or bath themselves more than once or twice a year, and then in cold water ... they shave their beards ...', and he has one of the Franks say: 'Hair is a superfluity.'¹⁰ In that same period, Ibn al-Mukarram, writing in 1280, advised that Frankish prisoners should not be allowed to go to bathhouses¹¹. One can imagine several reasons for this advice. The prisoners had to leave their prison and thus had an opportunity to escape; they could conspire with other prisoners or other visitors when bathing together. But such restrictions could only be necessary if Latin prisoners had had the habit of going to the baths before their capture.

⁹ R. Röhrich, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 10 (1887), pp. 300, 308, 310, 316, 317, 318. The use of windmills is well attested. For the village Balaneia (nowadays Hamman cheikh Isa), 70 kilometer south of Antioch on the Orontes, interpreted as 'Gué de la Baleine' by the Franks, see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 135-8; and idem, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1983), p. 244, Note sur le 'Gué de la Baleine'.

¹⁰ Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp. 272, 274-82, 555; for illustrations of hamans, *ibid.*, pp. 276-81.

¹¹ L. Fernandez, 'On Conducting the Affairs of the State', *Annales islamologiques*, 24 (1988), p. 84; at the same time he advised that the Franks should not be allowed to have beards when in prison, *ibid.*, p. 84; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp. 555-6. See also below p. 00, and note 42.

References to the Western lack of bodily hygiene are occasionally found in the writings of indigenous Christians, such as Michael the Syrian (1133-99), the patriarch of the Orthodox Syrian community. The patriarch regularly visited Antioch and other parts of Outremer. He described the Templars as having no women and not going to the baths¹². This takes us to the baths in Antioch of which several are mentioned in various crusader sources: the *balnea Tancredi* (1134, 1140), the *balnea dicta Omar* (1140), and two baths of the Hospitallers. One is reported in 1140, another was bought in 1186 by Brother Renaud de Margat from the Mazoir family¹³. Other baths are likely to have existed without being mentioned in the sources, such as the baths in private palaces and mansions. It seems that in the period after the crusader conquest in 1098, public baths were frequented by a variety of people of all nations already living in the city, as well as by newcomers. After the great earthquake in 1115, the Latin patriarch, Bernard of Valence, made the inhabitants of the city do penance. Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, strangers and pilgrims, they all said that the earthquake 'had happened because of their own sins'. In the words of Walter the Chancellor, they had to be brought back to the Lord's service. A three-day fast was proclaimed and the 'sinners' abstained from feasting, drinking and from going to the baths. One may conclude that, in the eyes of the Latin patriarch and his clergy, bathing was a sort of luxury rather than a sin. The form of repentance seems to show that many people, including Latins, used to go to the baths¹⁴.

¹² Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 596 (III, p. 201); cf. D. Weltecke, 'Contacts between Syriac Orthodox and Latin Military Orders', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, III, p. 59. One of the rules of the Order of the Temple was to live a life of corporeal neglect, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Eloge de la Nouvelle Chevalerie*, with French trans. ed. P.-Y. Emery (Paris, 1990), IV, p. 70 (71), 'numquam compti, raro loti, magis autem neglecto crine hispidi' / 'Jamais soignés, rarement lavés, la tignasse et la barbe négligemment hirsutes'; for the thirteenth-century French translation see Henri de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), §21, p. 32.

¹³ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 132, 522; the Order of the Hospital accommodated pilgrims and possessed at least two baths in Antioch. G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), pp. 172, 176, 177. T.S. Miller, 'The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), pp. 709-33; their hospitals may have required the application of medical baths, see p. 727 f. For local rulers in Outremer and their revenues from local bathhouses, see J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), pp. 76, 81, 84, 85.

¹⁴ *Walter the Chancellor's 'The Antiochene Wars'*, trans. T.S. Asbridge and S.B. Edgington (Ashgate, 1999), p. 83. For Muslims the same holds true: not going to the baths was a form of doing penance (information given by Faustina Doufikar-Aerts), and it is therefore likely that they joined the Christians in doing penance after the earthquake in Antioch.

This is also clear from another story, an *exemplum*, told by Usāmah. When Roger (1112-9), Tancred's cousin and successor as ruler of Antioch, led an expedition to Damascus in 1113, the army camped near Shayzar. Apparently, spies were sent from the town to eavesdrop on conversations in the military camp and Usāmah reports the following:

The Franks (may Allah render them helpless!) unanimously agreed to direct their forces against Damascus and capture it ... On his way to Damascus, the lord of Antioch stopped in front of Shayzar. The princes were so sure of the conquest and possession of Damascus that they had already bargained amongst themselves for the houses of Damascus, its baths and its bazaars, and in turn sold them to the bourgeois, who paid in cash¹⁵.

The leaders and the bourgeois (the term is literally used in the Arabic source to designate a new social class of wealthy citizens) were interested in possessing and/or exploiting bathhouses which, in Damascus in particular, had a reputation of being luxurious institutions. They probably intended to exploit these baths for their own benefit¹⁶. One of the baths of Antioch was named after Tancred, regent of Antioch (1104-11) and prince of Antioch (1111-2); the bath is recorded for the first time in 1134. One may presume that the name was given to it by Tancred himself, who may have used it and/or restored it. He may even have been its owner and exploited the bathhouse for his own benefit. At an early stage in his reign, Tancred was blamed by the Byzantine princess, Anna Komnene, for living a luxurious life, which may have included going to the baths. Tancred did not want to comply with the ambassadors sent by his suzerain, the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118). This caused Anna to write that he indulged in luxury at her father's expense. From the above, one may conclude that Tancred set an example for a luxurious lifestyle, probably including the use of baths. The early Norman rulers of Antioch must have known the comfort of baths in southern Italy, a former Byzantine territory. In Salerno, conquered in the 1070s by the Normans of southern Italy, warm baths were renowned for their therapeutic effects¹⁷.

¹⁵ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, p. 144; later in the twelfth century, the habit of takings baths seems well established in Outremer, when the Princess Isabella of Jerusalem, wife of Conrad of Montferrat, lingered too late in her bath at Tyre, see Runciman, *Crusades*, III, p. 64.

¹⁶ Admiration for the baths in Damascus was also expressed by Magister Thietmar in his *Peregrinatio*, see *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1873²), c. 3, p. 10, 'natatoria vel lavatoria quadrata vel rotunda'; see also R. Hiestand, 'Ein Zimmer mit Blick auf das Meer', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, III, p. 159, who draws attention to the use of the terms 'luxus' and 'stultitia' in this passage. For the exploitation of baths, see Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility* (see n. 13), *ibid*.

¹⁷ Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, XIV, II, 3, ed. Leib, III, p. 147; English trans. E.R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 439, 'Tancred was to enjoy luxury — as the result of his [Alexius] spending and his labour'. For Salerno see

Visitors to Antioch were entertained, or entertained themselves, at the city baths. Travelling in a hot climate made it necessary. It was already a tradition in Byzantium and was continued under Norman rule. In 1159, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80) visited Antioch as the city's suzerain. After a triumphal entry, celebrated by Prodomos, the emperor spent a few days bathing and enjoying other corporeal delights, as we learn from William of Tyre¹⁸. Reynald of Châtillon, then ruler of Antioch, was certainly expected to accompany the emperor in these activities.

The Flemish count, Philip of Flanders, assisted his relative Bohemond III (son of Constance and Raymond of Poitiers), when Antiochene troops besieged the fortress of Harenc in the winter of 1177-8. Since Harenc was not far from Antioch Bohemond, the count and his suite regularly slipped off to Antioch to enjoy the pleasures of the city, such as taking a bath, banqueting, drinking heavily and other voluptuousness¹⁹. Going to the baths had apparently become one of the favourite pleasures, even in wintertime when hot baths were available for the elite, and were certainly a luxury for the average Western visitor.

The children of mixed Latin-Syrian marriages, the so-called *poulains*, usually continued the life-style of their Eastern ancestors, as did their compatriots and children of other mixed marriages. Jacques de Vitry, the Latin bishop of Acre who was not much in favour of the Eastern Christians and their lifestyle, tells that they were more used to going to baths than to battle and that some of the husbands let their wives go to a bath-house three times a week, whereas most women, who lived a very secluded life, were allowed to go to church only once a year²⁰.

One may conclude that from the very beginning of Norman-Latin rule in Antioch, at least from the regency or rule of Tancred onward, bathing

C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cleveland, 1957; reprint 1970), p. 323; the English twelfth-century eulogy on its baths, *The School of Salerno*, ed. John Harington (London, 1922), was inaccessible to me; see also note 22 below.

¹⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 848, 'ubi cum per aliquot dies balneis et ceteris corporalibus deliciis dedisset'.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 994-5, 'continuis itineribus Antiochiam properabant, ubi balneis comessionibus et ebrietatibus et ceteris lubricis voluptatibus dediti, desidiis obsidionem deserebant'; see also P. Deschamps, *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* (Paris, 1973), pp. 124, 341; and Runciman, *Crusades*, II, p. 416, for more references. Bohemond III was a son of Constance and Raymond of Poitiers.

²⁰ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, pp. 1047-1124, esp. p. 1088; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, Buridant, p. 118, 'il sunt acoustumé as bains plus que as batailles et vestu de soes vesteures aussi comme femes ... et a painnes pooient eles entrer en Sainte Eglise une fois l'an. Nonporquant alguns en i avoit qui soufroient lor femes aller as bains trois fois le semaine'; cf. A.D. von den Brincken, *Nationes Christianorum Orientalium* (Cologne, 1973), p. 159, and p. 186 for a water party in Armenian circles at Epiphany. The influence of the new life-style in the East on Western vernacular literatures has yet to be established.

became part of life for some of the new elite, whereas the indigenous people, Christian and Muslim, continued in their old habits. Even if they had wished to do so, the Western rulers could not have succeeded in closing the bathhouses. By going to these institutions, the Latins could meet the local population, Muslims and Eastern Christians. If they wished, and it seems unlikely that they could avoid doing so, they could socialize with them to a certain degree.

This is not the place to discuss medieval literary texts where references to bathrooms with hot and cold running water, in palaces and in private houses are not unknown. One has only to think of *Floire and Blanchefleur*, a courtly romance taking place in a mixed religious setting somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. In this romance, an ingenious system to provide hot and cold water had been installed in the tower in which Blanchefleur is kept prisoner²¹.

Tancred and his Norman relatives had grown up in southern Italy and in Sicily where part of the Arab population was still Arabic-speaking. It is not known if bathhouses have survived in the area, but the daily confrontation with the 'otherness' must have stimulated Tancred and some of his successors to have an open mind for these features of life. Tancred's coin as ruler of Antioch testifies to this attitude. It is a mixture of several traditions: Latin and Greek inscriptions, the ruler represented with a turban, a raised sword and a beard (*Ill. 1*).

The beard was another element common to the majority of the peoples living in Syria, Muslims and Christians who cultivated this specific image and were easily recognizable as indigenous inhabitants, as we shall see below. Some manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* of William of Tyre represent Tancred with a beard (*Ill. 2*)²².

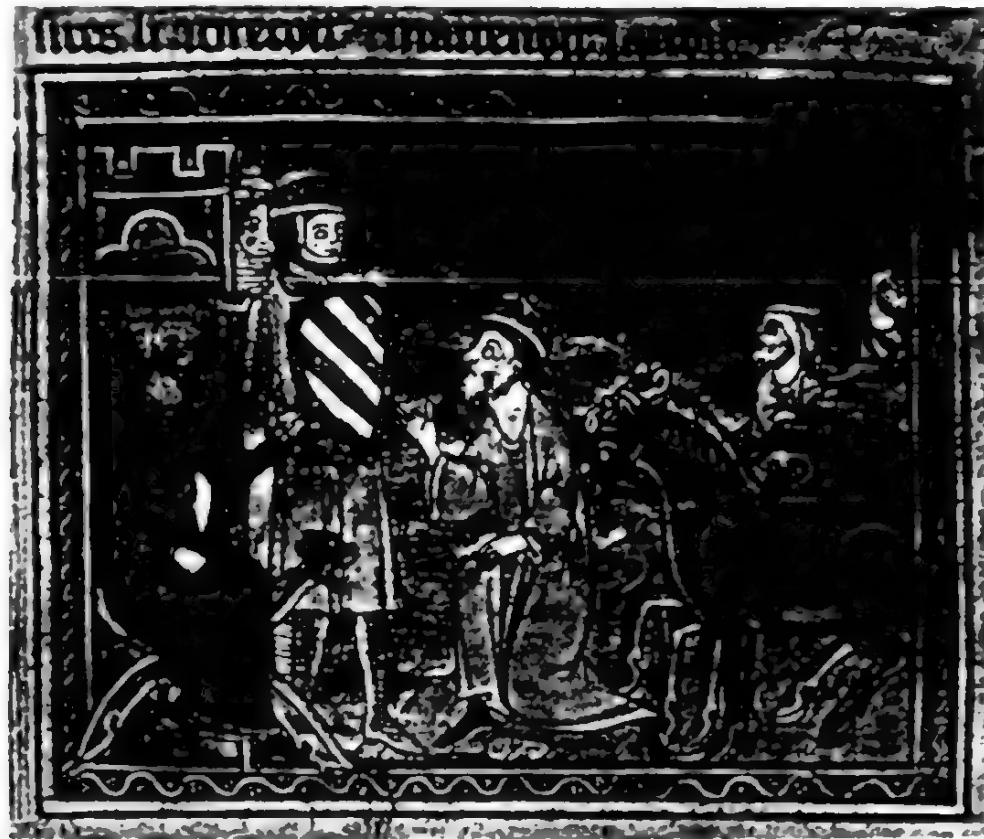


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1. Coin of Tancred (after Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pl. 4, fig. 64)

²¹ See Jean Larmat, 'Les bains dans la littérature française du Moyen Age', in *Les soins de beauté: Moyen Age — Début des temps modernes: Actes du IIIe colloque international, Grasse, 26-28 avril 1985 (Nice, 1987)*, pp. 195-210.

²² D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1995²), p. 27, and pl. 4, no. 69, probably in the style of earlier Greek rulers of Antioch. The raised sword was used by the Byzantine Emperor Isaac Komnenos (1055-6) but was not a great success,



2. Tancred receiving gifts from satraps, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 142, f. 32r (after J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291*, Princeton, 1976, ill. 121)

In the life of the inhabitants of Palestine, Syria and the Byzantine Empire, baths and beards, although trivial to the modern reader, had their own history. During the period under discussion, the two features were, to a certain degree, similarly appreciated in Latin circles in Outremer. In Byzantine society it was traditional for the clergy and for the majority of the male population to have beards. There were, of course, a few exceptions, such as eunuchs and, in the course of the twelfth century, some younger people who wanted to imitate Western fashions.

The Latins from Western Europe and many crusaders as well, were clean-shaven. This appears to be in contradiction with their original status of pilgrims. The 'otherness' of the Eastern and Western halves of Christendom had become visible, theologically, linguistically and even in hairstyle. The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* resumes this evolution as follows: 'After the schism of 1054 the beard became a symbol of national pride that differentiated Byzantines from clean-shaven Latins.' In other words *barbarus* versus *barbatus*. Curiously some Norman rulers

although it was imitated by Gisulf of Salerno (southern Italy, where the Normans had established themselves) and William the Conqueror, another relative of the Normans. For Gisulf of Salerno see Ph. Grierson, 'The Salernitan Coinage of Gisulf II (1052-77) and Robert Guiscard (1077-85)', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956), p. 54, no. 31. For the miniatures see J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976), ill. no. 121 (a manuscript written in Saint-Jean d'Acre, *ibid.*, pp. 184-7) and ill. no. 263 (a manuscript written in Paris in the style of the school of Saint-Jean d'Acre, *ibid.*, pp. 205-8).

of southern Italy were well known in Byzantine sources for cultivating a beard, possibly in imitation of the 'Byzantine models' they wanted to emulate. Robert Guiscard and his relative Bohemond, first Latin ruler of Antioch, had adopted the fashion long before the First Crusade²³. Bohemond and Tancred are both depicted on their Antiochene coins with fine, curly beards. Raymond of Poitiers, who was not from Norman Sicily, is portrayed as clean-shaven, as also is Bohemond III. The Greeks were persistent in their views about the coiffure of the Latins, which, in their opinion, was not correct. Their 'Orthodox' convictions regularly appeared in polemical literature and during confrontations between East and West. Constantine Stilbes wrote a polemical treatise against the Latins after the capture of Constantinople in 1204, saying that '...[the Latin] bishops shave their beards and the rest of their body, thinking that it is a purification... in reality it is a Jewish practice'²⁴. In his *History*, Niketas Choniates describes the capture of Thessaloniki in 1185 by the Normans, and reports how the bearded Greeks were assaulted by the enemy and ridiculed. A Greek inhabitant of Constantinople who was clean-shaven, was qualified as non-Orthodox by Nicetas. After the capture of Constantinople in 1204, the Venetian leader Morosini is described by Niketas as beardless. Elsewhere the Byzantine author says, almost maliciously, that shaving their beards helped the Latins to look younger²⁵.

From earlier travellers and pilgrims, the crusaders had learnt what kind of people they would meet on the way and what they would look like. Pilgrims used to grow beards when going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, thus adapting, willy nilly, to the way of life in Palestine and

²³ *ODB*, I, p. 274, s.v. beard. Nowadays, the year 1054 is no longer considered to have been the 'beginning' of the schism. Rather, the capture of Antioch in 1098 by the crusaders is considered as such. For Robert Guiscard, Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, vi, vii, 6, ed. Leib, II, p. 60; Sewter, p. 195; see also W.J. Aerts, 'Das literarische Porträt in der byzantinischen Literatur', in *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, vol. VIII (Groningen, 1997), p. 185. For Bohemond, who was mocked by the Venetians for having a beard, Anna Komnene, iv, ii, 4, ed. Leib, I, p. 147; Sewter, p. 138; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 22), pls 3, 4 and 15.

²⁴ J. Darrouzès, 'Le Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins', *Revue des études byzantines*, 21 (1963), pp. 71, 94-5, where the author concludes that during the twelfth century lay people followed various fashions; see also note 23.

²⁵ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), pp. 80-1, 304-5, 575, 623; ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), pp. 107, 396, 761, 824 (German trans. in F. Grabler, *Die Krone der Komnenen* (Graz etc., 1958), p. 117; idem, *Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron* (Graz, etc., 1958), p. 100; idem, *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel* (Graz etc., 1958), pp. 151, 204); C. Asdracha, 'L'image de l'homme occidental à Byzance: Le témoignage de Kinnamos et de Choniatès', *Byzantinoslavica*, 44 (1983), pp. 31-40, esp. p. 34.

Syria. When the crusaders were fighting their way into Antioch, a number of Latins and Oriental Christians were killed by 'friendly fire' because they were not recognizable as being Latins or friends and co-religionists. The bishop of Le Puy therefore advised the crusaders to cut their beards regularly. His argument was that otherwise the Latins would be taken for Turks.²⁶ Once in Syria, it was no surprise to discover that many Christians and Muslims had long, flowing, flourishing beards, the 'barbes fleuries' of the Muslims, in particular in vernacular sources. They were to become stereotypes for the description of Muslims in literary-historical texts like the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Conquête de Jérusalem*. Manuscript illustrations tend to follow the same stereotypes²⁷. In Muslim circles, long beards were a distinctive feature of an individual, especially of older people, as we learn from a story of Usāmah concerning two Muslims²⁸.

The Latins who came to the East must have heard that, in this respect at least, the various Eastern Christians followed the Greeks, but with minor differences as to the length of the beard. The identity of the various Eastern Christians is often unclear because no details are given about them, such as having long beards or trimmed and well kept beards. The late twelfth-century anonymous *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*, a rather popular text which was known in Latin and

²⁶ Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), v, ch. 6, p. 206 (PL 156, c. 753; French trans., *Guibert de Nogent, Geste de Dieu par les Francs: Histoire de la première croisade*, introd., trad., notes, M.-C. Garand (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 171-2).

²⁷ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, p. 189, gives the story of an old Muslim whose long beard was cut off by a compatriot; according to Ibn Chaddad it was a pity that a good-looking young man like the son of Humphrey of Toron, who worked as an interpreter, was clean-shaven, cf. A. Hatem, *Les poèmes épiques des croisades* (Paris 1932), p. 298, who refers to Ibn Chaddad in RHC Or., III, pp. 256-7 (or *The Life of Saladin by Behā ed-Dīn*, English trans. C.R. Conder and C.W. Wilson (London, 1897), p. 288; or *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin by Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād*, recent trans. by D.S. Richards, (Aldershot, 2002), p. 173). For manuscript illumination see e.g. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination* (see n. 22), passim; and S. Luchitskaya, 'Muslims in Christian Imagery of the Thirteenth Century: The Visual Code of Otherness', *Al-Masāq*, 12 (2000), pp. 36-67, esp. p. 53-4. Bearded or non-bearded thus also became a shibboleth in the arts. By rendering specific oriental features, the illustrated manuscripts of William of Tyre's *Chronicon* might betray a clue as to the location of the scriptoria where they were illustrated, in the West or in Outremer.

²⁸ Usāmah, *Memoirs*, p. 189; see also Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 305, who refers to Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200) who wrote that in 1098 a priest with a long beard guided the Franks at the capture of Maarat al-Numan. This must have been a local priest or someone like the monk, Peter the Hermit, who, unlike many of the Latins, was not beardless (see also note 39 below).

in an Old French translation and preserved in more than thirty manuscripts, has chapters on the various nations living in the kingdom of Jerusalem. *Mutatis mutandis*, this also applies to the nations living in Syria. A few lines sufficed to describe their idiosyncrasies: their language, their alphabet and their coiffure. Beards were apparently an intriguing aspect, since they figure in many of these concise descriptions. The Franks were the only people without beards: 'De Francis ... soli qui inter omnes gentes barbam radunt ...; De Surianis ... ex maiore parte barbam non sicut Greci nutrientes, sed ipsam aliquantulum castigant ...; De Georgianis ... barbam et comam in immensum nutrientes ...'. The presence of beards is paramount in some of these descriptions²⁹.

Such was the situation when Latin rule was established in Syria and its surroundings. Tancred set an example of the Eastern hairstyle by issuing a coin on which he was represented with a beard, which he may also have had in real life. He was one of the few leaders of the expedition who knew Greek and Arabic³⁰. In more ways than one, he set an example for other Latins to adapt to life in the new land by speaking the language and by adopting local traditions.

Tancred was not the only leader to do so. Interesting material can be found in historical texts and in *exempla*. I refer here to some of the leaders in the principality of Edessa with which Antioch had close contacts, friendly and otherwise. Theoretically, Antioch was Edessa's feudal overlord, until the city was captured in 1144 and was lost for the Latins.

Baldwin of Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, was the first Latin ruler of Edessa during the years 1098-1100, before he consequently became king of Jerusalem (1100-18). Guibert de Nogent, a contemporary writer who never left France, says in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, speaking of Baldwin as ruler of Edessa, that he adopted a number of Greek elements for the ceremonies in his realm, and that he grew a beard³¹. Apparently such adaptation was information, interesting enough

²⁹ B.Z. Kedar, 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 114, 124.

³⁰ *Historia belli sacri*, RHC Occ., III, p. 198, 'Riccardus et Tancredus ... linguam Syriacam sciebant'. The term 'linguam Syriacam' may mean Arabic, although Syriac should not be altogether excluded.

³¹ Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (see n. 26), VII, c. 39, pp. 338-9 (PL 156, c. 826; Garand, p. 294); for the principality of Edessa see M. Amouroux-Mourad, *Le comté d'Edesse, 1098-1150* (Paris, 1988), esp. pp. 60, 63, and for the Armenian marriages of three successive rulers of Edessa the genealogical table opposite p. 172. Madame

for Guibert to mention it. Part of Baldwin's adaptation doubtless envisaged acceptance by his new relatives, members of a princely Armenian family. He had married an Armenian princess, and the local population of Edessa had to accept him and his new lifestyle and may even have appreciated it. His coins carried Greek inscriptions in the traditional way. Even his seal had a Greek inscription (*Ill. 3*)³².

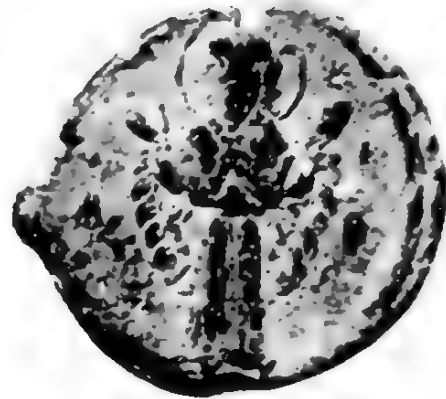
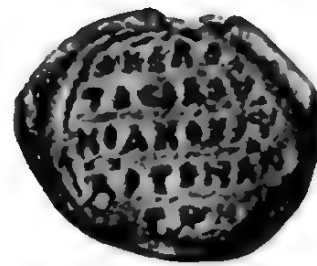
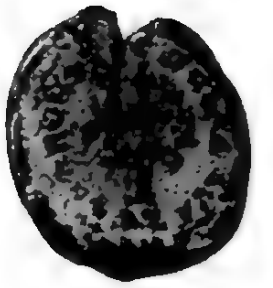
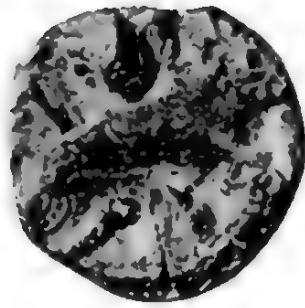
As king of Jerusalem (1100-18), he is never described or depicted as having a beard. The process of adaptation then took a new direction. As king of Jerusalem he was to focus on the new Latin elite in the kingdom, whom he certainly did not want to frustrate by all sorts of estranging features. The kings of Jerusalem, other than John of Brienne, were not represented on coins, so that we know almost nothing about their dress or their looks. John is portrayed as clean-shaven, but that may not be true to life. On his lead seal he is shown bearded. One of his successors as rulers of Edessa, Joscelyn II (1131-50) issued a coin with an inscription in Syriac, apparently to please the Syrian Orthodox majority of the city (*ill. 4*)³³.

His cousin, Baldwin of Bourg, who succeeded him as ruler of Edessa (1100-4, 1108-18), followed in his footsteps, not only by growing a beard but also by marrying an Armenian lady. His beard became the subject of an interesting story in historiography and in an *exemplum*. After his imprisonment during the years 1104-8, Baldwin was pressed by his creditors to pay his debts but he was short of money. As a guarantee for his solvency, he pledged his beard in the hope that his wealthy father-in-law, Gabriel of Melitene, would help him solve his financial

Amouroux's conclusion that Baldwin was more 'orientalized' than his neighbours, *ibid.* p. 113, is not well founded.

³² Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 22), pp. 31-9, and pl. 7, no. 107. C.H. MacEvitt, *Creating Christian Identities: Crusaders and Local Communities in the Levant, 1097-1187*, unpublished doctoral thesis Princeton, 2002, pp. 66, 67, 99, suggests that the cross on Baldwin's coin is the Holy Cross of Varag on which he had sworn loyalty to his 'adopted' father Thoros, during a traditional Armenian adoption ceremony. On crusader coins, a bearded Christ and bearded saints, such as Saint Peter, occasionally appear. For Baldwin's seal see G. Zacos, *Byzantine lead seals*, I (Berne, 1984), no. 368, p. 213, and II (Berne, 1985), pl. 39, 368a-b; and J.-Cl. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12 (1994), no. 61, pp. 428-9, and pl. VI, no. 61; for the reference to Baldwin's seal I am indebted to Jean-Claude Cheynet.

³³ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 22), p. 36-7, and pl. VII, unnumbered coin in the right hand corner at the bottom; for John of Brienne, pl. 12. See also *Münzen und Medaillen A.G.* (Basel, 21./22. Sept. 1989), pl. 23, no. 363. On Joscelyn's coin St Thomas is bearded, which is not conform Byzantine iconography: *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournà*, English trans. P. Hetherington (London, 1974), p. 52.



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3. Seal of Baldwin I, count of Edessa (after J.-C. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12, 1994, pl. vi, no. 61)



4. Coin of Joscelyn II, count of Edessa, with Syriac inscription
(after Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, see n. 22, pl. vii)

problems. Without a beard he would not be respected, let alone be considered as a ruler. William of Tyre (c. 1130-86) relates the story, hardly casting a doubt on its veracity, stressing that Baldwin of Bourg, who had to make use of an interpreter, followed an Eastern tradition in not being shaven: 'Mos enim est Orientalibus, tam Grecis quam aliis nationibus, barbas tota cura et omni sollicitudine nutrire, pro summoque probro et maiori que unquam irrogari possit ignominia reputare, si vel unus pilus quocumque casu sibi de barba cum iniuria detrahatur.' Gabriel did not realize that his son-in-law had pledged his beard. He even admired him for his cunning and eventually paid the debts. The story demonstrates the extreme care of Eastern people for this masculine symbol, at least as it was seen in the eyes of the Latins. In the words of Gabriel a beard was the 'vultus gloriam'³⁴.

William of Tyre or a local tradition was probably the source for Jacques de Vitry (1180-1254), bishop of Acre from 1216 until 1228. In his *Historia Orientalis*, he repeats the story in a very shortened form. Baldwin of Bourg, married to an Armenian princess, had cultivated his beard in the Oriental way ('more orientalium') to extort money from his rich father-in-law.³⁵ (*Appendix I*) One can discern a vague criticism in the words of Jacques de Vitry in this version of the tale. The story may have become better known by the French translations of the *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry and by the French translation of William of Tyre's *Chronicon*, known as *Estoire d'Eracles*, and which sometimes slightly paraphrases its model³⁶.

³⁴ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp. 510-2, esp. p. 511; see also note 27 for Usāmah's story about an old Arab who was disgracefully treated by one of his compatriots.

³⁵ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, pp. 1089-90 (Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, Buridant, pp. 120-1), see also Appendix.

³⁶ *Ibid.*; *Estoire d'Eracles*, in RHC Occ., 1, pp. 469-71.

We also find the story, with some minor divergences, as an *exemplum* in a sermon by Jacques de Vitry which he may have sent to the West or taken with him after his return. These *exempla* have been published in collections of *exempla* without their context, which gives an incomplete picture of their historical setting, their message or their moral. This time Joscelin I of Courtenay, cousin of Baldwin II/Baldwin of Bourg, is the main character. Joscelin I (1119-31) had also married an Armenian lady, this, or a bad memory, giving rise to confusion in the mind of the author. According to these sources, three successive rulers of Edessa sought profit and acceptance by adapting to local life and local traditions. Baldwin had adopted several features of Edessan life and traditions. The story of Jacques de Vitry begins as follows: 'Jocelinus, a partibus Francie veniens in partibus Anthiochie moraretur, pecuit in uxorem filiam cuiusdam Armeni ...'. For some reason the scene has been transferred to the Antioch region, possibly because of territorial or feudal claims on Edessa, long after its capture in 1144. Before marrying the lady, Joscelin had to promise his future father-in-law that he would never shave his beard. Then follows more or less the same story which we have already seen. It is obvious that Jacques de Vitry is not very pleased with the whole story, and it seems that in this sermon, the former bishop of Acre blames the indigenous people of Outremer for being effeminate, not apt for warfare or carrying arms, but cultivating their beards to show off their masculinity. At the same time, he blames westerners for adopting such features. On the whole, Jacques de Vitry is very critical, not to say intolerant, where Eastern Christians are concerned. In one of his letters he describes their theological heresies and their looks, including their profuse hairstyle.³⁷ (*Appendix II*)

³⁷ J. Greven, *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry* (Heidelberg, 1914), no. 74, pp. 45-6 (= G. Frenken, *Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1914), no. 71, p. 133). See also Amouroux, *Comté d'Edesse* (see n. 31), p. 97, n. 32, he married a daughter of Constantine, son of Roupen. He conversed with Armenians as well as with Jacobites, Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, p. 231; see also Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 192. According to Bar 'Ebrōyō (1226-86), Joscelyn took the whole county of Antioch, *The Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus*, Engl. trans. E.A. Wallis Budge (Oxford, 1932), I, p. 253. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 22), p. 36, attributes a coin with an inscription in Syriac, another feature of adaptation to the East, to his successor Joscelyn II. For Jacques de Vitry's intolerance see e.g. R.B.C. Huygens, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 83-4. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 718, refers to the effeminateness of the inhabitants of Edessa, Syrians (he uses the term 'Caldei', which seems to mean the Syrian Orthodox) and Armenians, who were not allowed to carry arms.

The bishop's acrimonious attitude, full of criticism, becomes even clearer in an *exemplum* found in another sermon, in which beards and baths are both condemned. This time the scene takes place in Acre. A Latin knight had once offended a *histrion*, a court juggler/court jester by not giving him something the latter had asked for. One day the knight went to a bathhouse, as the Orientals did ('dum more Orientalium iret ad publica balnea'), where he met the man again. Anticipating that the knight, apparently a frequent visitor, was to visit the bathhouse, the *histrion* had brought with him a balm. He absented himself deliberately for a short while, and the Latin knight, having furtively applied the product to his beard, discovered that he had used a depilatory product. He lost his beard and had to stay at home in order not to show how he had been tricked³⁸. (*Appendix III*) Here again it is a pity that the *exemplum* has been published without the sermon and its statements and verdicts. In this *exemplum*, the bishop had a great opportunity to condemn bathhouse and beard-growing at the same time. It is good to realize that William of Tyre was born and had grown up in Outremer. He had more or less adapted to Oriental life or had come to terms with it. His years of study in the West had not influenced him negatively regarding life and traditions in the East. Jacques de Vitry was a newcomer to Outremer. He falls into the category of westerners who, according to Usāmah, did not adopt traditions which were new to them, and who arrived long after the First Crusade. One wonders if, from the works of Jacques de Vitry and especially from the *exempla* in his sermons, one may conclude that many westerners had adopted Eastern features in their lives. The bishop may have exaggerated this adaptation but there must be a kernel of truth in it. In the introduction to his *Historia orientalis*, Jacques de Vitry says that he wrote this work for preaching. During his stay in the East he wanted to collect material for preaching sermons in order to revive Western enthusiasm for the Holy Land and its Latin interests. More than once, Jacques de Vitry has been qualified as a man who was almost obsessive in his criticism of the Eastern Christians, whom he had wanted to guide back to the authority of the Church of Rome. In general, preachers were critical where bodily care was concerned. This would certainly apply to bathing, even in the hot summer climate of Outremer³⁹.

³⁸ Greven, *Exempla*, no. 75, pp. 46-7 (Frenken, *Exempla*, no. 72, pp. 133-4), the story came from an oral source ('novi').

³⁹ J. Schöndorfer, *Orient und Okzident nach den Hauptwerken des Jakob von Vitry* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), pp. 12, 33, see also p. 85; M.A. Polo de Beaulieu, 'La condamnation des soins de beauté par les prédicateurs du Moyen Age', in *Les soins de beauté* (see n. 21), pp. 297-309.

Peter the Hermit had arrived in Syria long-bearded, in the tradition of pilgrims, and he may have impressed the 'enemy' to whom he was sent as an ambassador and interpreter, since he seemed to speak their language⁴⁰. Numerous other pilgrims had been like him, as far as a beard was concerned. Once the crusading army had followed the advice of the bishop of Le Puy to shave their beards, they were in fact no longer pilgrims to the Holy Land. They now belonged to another category of travellers. The Knights Templar kept their beards because it was one of the rules of their order. They were not allowed to be clean-shaven. This made them very recognizable and vulnerable when they were captured during hostilities. There were times when, taken prisoner, they were decapitated just for being a Templar. In this context one should refer to another *exemplum* of Jacques de Vitry. He tells of a pilgrim who, bald and bearded, is captured by the enemy and is thought to be a Templar. Several times he says that he is a simple pilgrim but his captors do not believe him. Eventually he is willing to become a martyr for the sake of Christ. He gives in and says that he is indeed a Templar, upon which he is killed. Again, not having the full text of the sermon prevents us from having a clear view of the context of the story⁴¹. (*Appendix IV*)

Westerners in captivity had to shave their beards and, as we have already seen, were not allowed the luxury of baths. Now it was the other way round, they were forced to adopt the Western way of life. It is curious that the Arab author, Ibn al-Mukarram, writing in 1280 after the fall of Antioch, refers here explicitly to 'Franks and Antiochene'⁴². Could it be that numerous westerners had fully adapted to Eastern life?

As can be expected under the circumstances, characteristics of the enemy like clothes, hairstyle and language, could be used as a stratagem by both sides to deceive the enemy⁴³.

⁴⁰ H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 115, see also p. 297, n. 2, 'à la façon des pèlerins'; see also note 28.

⁴¹ T.F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry: Or illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares* (London, 1890), no. LXXXVII, p. 39; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 554. For the Templars see note 12, *ibid.*

⁴² Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp. 554-6; Fernandez, 'On Conducting the Affairs of the State' (see n. 11), p. 84, 'the beards of all prisoners of war — Franks and Antiochene, or other — must be shaved, and make sure they do so whenever their beard grows back'. In this treaty we find the combination baths and beards which, in Arab eyes, was not part of Western life. See also Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 330, for the image of the Franks in folk literature. One wonders who the Arab author had in mind when he mentioned the Antiochenes.

⁴³ In 1190, Arabs, disguised as clean-shaven Latins and dressed in Latin clothes, were able to enter the port of Acre, *Chroniques arabes des Croisades*, trans. F. Gabrieli (Paris 1963), pp. 226-7, he refers to Behâ ed-Dîn, in RHC Or., III, pp. 178-9 (or *The Life of Saladin*, p. 204, or the trans. by Richards (for both see n. 27), p. 124).

From the material collected here one may conclude that the first generation rulers of Antioch and Edessa set the example in adopting features of local life, such as cultivating beards and going to the baths. Tancred of Antioch had a multicultural background, the first three princes of Edessa sought acceptance. Usāmah's statement, or rather *exemplum*, about westerners adopting a new lifestyle by associating with Muslims seems only partly justified. Essentially Antioch had remained a Greek city; Edessa was predominantly Christian. With the bathhouses, Tancred continued a local tradition which was to become part of a new lifestyle among the elite, and possibly of other social classes as well. Westerners adopted a mixture of Byzantine and Islamic lifestyles⁴⁴. Usāmah, who considered such people as an exception, expressed some criticism about their behaviour but, at the same time, seems to have felt a certain appreciation.

The patriarchs of Antioch do not seem to have condemned their flocks for their new luxurious lifestyle, occasionally tempering them slightly and criticising mildly, as did Bernard of Valence (1100-35), who imposed penance on his flock when an earthquake had shocked the population. Aimery of Limoges (c. 1142-c. 1196) had a wide cultural background and cherished ecumenical ambitions with the local Christians. To condemn the 'otherness' of these Christians would not help him to achieve his goals.

Jacques de Vitry (1180-1254) came to Outremer, where he was archbishop of Acre from 1216 until 1228. He wrote his *Historia Orientalis* to collect material for preaching. In his sermons he used stories from this work, in which the early rulers of Edessa came under heavy attack for having adopted elements of Eastern life. The same applies to the rest of the population. This contradicts part of Usāmah's statement that only few people of the first generation had really 'accepted' living in the Orient. Jacques de Vitry, with his missionary ambitions among the Eastern Christians, was a newcomer but remained an outsider. He left the East as an embittered man and expressed his deception in his sermons in which he used *exempla* criticizing people who had adopted elements of Eastern life. The bishop would have been shocked if he had known that a century later the Pope allowed missionaries to keep their beards, and in doing so, paid respect to the indigenous people⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 420, speaks only of Islamic *mores*.

⁴⁵ F. Schmieder, 'Tartarus valde sapiens et eruditus in philosophia: La langue des missionnaires en Asie', in *L'étranger au Moyen Age: Actes du XXX^e congrès de la*

More elements of a new lifestyle by westerners in Outremer may be found when various sources, in various languages, are studied more carefully⁴⁶. The impression which visitors from Outremer, be they Eastern Christians or Western citizens of the Latin lands, made on Western Europeans when they visited the West as envoys or as private visitors, is interesting. An example can be found when delegates from Prince Roger of Antioch and the Latin patriarch of Antioch arrived in Beneventum in 1113 to plead their cause with the Pope. They had grown beards, not from conviction but by taking things easy during the journey, as it seems, '... viri duo crinibus et barbibus concreti, calamistrati non ex industria, sed, ut apparebat, ex incuria ... se legatos esse dixerunt Antiocheni principis Rogerii Bernardique civitatis eiusdem patriarche ...'. Nevertheless it was a great surprise to the Western audience to see these bearded men⁴⁷.

One needs to be observant to detect these elements in critical remarks about exceptional and exclusive details and new features in lifestyle, but also in descriptions which ridicule the 'otherness' of other people, both individuals and groups. A complete edition of the sermons of Jacques de Vitry may help to find more elements of Oriental life among the Latin population in Antioch and its surroundings, where the perspective of immediate capture was not imminent. The examples of the early leaders of Antioch and its surroundings may have contributed to a form of 'internal coherence' and eventually to the survival and long existence of the principality.

SHMESP, Göttingen, 1999 (Paris, 2000), p. 280, who refers to *De locis fratrum minorum et predicatorum in Tartaria*, ed. G. Golubovich, Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano, 5 vols (Florence, 1906-1927), v, p. 113 (A.D. 1365).

⁴⁶ Features of life-style, such as beards and baths and other forms of exceptional dress or behaviour are rarely included in indices. They may be conclusive evidence for the status of people and their lieu of residence, like George of Paris, patron of an icon of Saint George on Mount Sinai, who is represented as a bearded man, which suggests that he was a resident of one of the Latin States in Outremer, cf. R. Cormack and S. Mihalarios, 'A Crusader Painting of St George: 'Maniera greca' or 'lingua franca'?', *The Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 132-41, and fig. 5.

⁴⁷ J. von Pflugck-Harttung, ed., *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1884), II, p. 205, no. 247 (new ed. by R. Hiestand, 'Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande: Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificus III', *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge*, 136 (Göttingen, 1985), no. 15, p. 120). I owe this reference to Bernard Hamilton.

APPENDICES

I. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, translation in Old French

Dont il avint que uns quens Bauduins laissa sa barbe croistre selonz l'us de la terre por ce qu'il avoit espousee la fille d'un gentil home de la terre d'Ermenie par nation, mais grius estoit de foi et avoit non Gabriel; por ce qu'il peüst avoir de son serorge grant avoir, qui vius hom estoit, il dist que por besoigne il avoit sa barbe engagie a ses deteors par grant avoir, et cil fu dolens et molt s'esmerbella et pensa que chou estoit molt grans reproce et grans hontes a la fille et a son parage, et pour esciver la honte, il li donna xxxm. besans par teil conaision que par nule poverte qui peüst avenir il ne metroit sa barbe en gages (Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, Buridant (see n. 20), p. 120-121).

II. Jacques de Vitry, *De illo qui dixit se obligasse barbam suam*

Barba vero superior sicut et capilli videtur potius esse ad ornatum, maxime secundum orientales qui summum dedecus putant barbe rasuram et tales effeminatos reputant deposito virilitatis signo. Unde cum quidam nobilis miles, comes scilicet Jocelinus, a partibus Francie veniens in partibus Anthiochie moraretur, peccit in uxorem filiam cuiusdam Armeni, viri divitis et potentis. Ille autem nullo modo dare voluit, nisi facta convencione quod barbam suam non raderet, sed crescere permetteret. Quo facto accidit postea quod dictus comes multis debitis obligatus pecunia indigeret et nullo modo pecuniam a socero suo extorquere valebat. Unde cepit anxius cogitare, quomodo a socero suo qui valde habundabat summam pecunie posset habere. Et cum quadam die venisset ad eum, cepit tristitiam simulare et suspiriis atque lacrimis quasi cordis tristitiam ostendere. Cumque Armenus quereret ab eo, quid haberet, et ille taceret, tamquam dicere non auderet, tandem ad multam instanciam respondit: «Domine, magna necessitate compulsus accepi mutuo pecuniam usque ad mille marcas; et barbam meam pignori obligavi, cum pignus preciosius non haberem; et iureiurando promisi quod, nisi ad talem terminum pecuniam redderem, creditor spoliaret me barba mea.» Quod audiens Armenus ille doluit et habito consilio cum amicis suis, nolens quod in obprobrium et vituperium generis sui gener eius barba privaretur, pecuniam illi dedit. (Greven (see n. 36), p. 45-6).

III. Jacques de Vitry, *De illo qui barbam amisit*

Novi militem quendam Acconensem: Cum quendam histrionem offendisset nec aliquid ei dare vellet, quadam die, dum more orientalium iret ad publica balnea, histrio ille prevenit eum. Et cum simul essent in balneis, habuit pixidem paratam cum unguento depilativo, cui ad deceptionem aromata miscuerat et cepit coram milite barbam et totam faciem ungere. Cui miles ait: «Quale est illud unguentum quod ita est aromaticum?» Cui histrio: «Talem habet virtutem, quod faciem hominis semper rubicundam et in bono statu conservat.» Cumque miles instanter eum rogaret, ut de unguento illo daret sibi, dixit ille: «Unguentum istud caro precio emi, non dabo tibi.» Et exiens histrio quasi ad necessaria ex industria pixidem reliquit. Miles vero arrepta pixide totam faciem suam et barbam prolixam perunxit et paulo post pilis cadentibus pre confusione in domo sua abscondens se infirmitatem simulavit et, ne aliquis ad ipsum intraret,

inhibuit. Tunc histrio regi Jherosolimitano et eius militibus predicta nunciavit. At illi statim ad domum militis accedentes invenerunt militem inbarbem. Et deridentes hominem mestum et confusum reliquerunt. Qui maluisset centum marchas histrioni dedisse quam tantum vituperium incurrisse (Grevén (see n. 36), p. 46-7).

IV. Jacques de Vitry

In principio quidem religionis illius fratres illi [i.e. Templi] ab omnibus sancti habebantur, unde cum a Sarracenis supra modum odio haberentur, accidit quod quidam miles nobilis qui, de partibus Francie causa peregrinationis, ultra mare perrexerat captus fuit cum quibusdam militibus fratrum milicie Templi, et quia calvus erat et barbatus crediderunt Sarraceni quod esset Templarius et cum Templariis occidendus. Alii autem qui seculares milites erant non occidebantur sed captivi ducebantur, cumque diceretur ei: «Tu Templarius es;» et ille sicut verum erat diceret: «Miles sum secularis et peregrinus.» respondentibus Sarracenis: «Immo Templarius es,» ille zelo fidei accensus extento colle dixit: «In nomine Domini sim Templarius.» Eo dicto, gladio percussus cum fratribus Templi novus Templarius ad Dominum migravit, martyrio feliciter coronatus (Crane (see n. 41), p. 39).

SIX UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS IN THE MONETARY HISTORY OF ANTIOCH, 969-1268

D.M. METCALF

The coinage of the Frankish princes of Antioch has been intensively studied by numismatists since the 1960s. The classification of the various series of coins, that is to say the arrangement of all the distinct varieties into a relative chronological scheme, has been repeatedly tested and refined as new evidence has come to light, in the form of overstrikes, and of hoards and stray finds¹. There are far more hoards of Antiochene coins on record than there are for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem or for the county of Tripoli, and many of those hoards have the merit of being large. There is also extensive numismatic material from controlled archaeological excavations in Antioch itself, in its medieval port of Port St Symeon, and at various other sites nearby². These stray losses complement the hoards, because they help to reveal the range of low-value coins, which were normally rejected for purposes of hoarding.

The Byzantine coinage of the period 969-1098 has also been thoroughly studied in the last forty years or so, on an empire-wide basis. That coinage, which was minted largely if not exclusively in Constantinople, circulated in the Byzantine duchy of Antioch, as it did elsewhere. One will look to see whether there are any regional differences in the composition of the currency, but if there are they are likely to be slight. The same archaeological excavations mentioned above have also yielded large quantities of Byzantine copper coins³. Byzantine silver and gold coins may be presumed to have been in use too, but as is generally the case they do not figure among the stray finds, because people took

¹ For a full survey, see D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (London, 1995²), chapters 4, 12, and 13.

² D.B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, part 2, *Roman, Byzantine, and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952); W. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart, 1986); D. Allen, 'Coins of Antioch, etc., from al-Mina', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., 17 (1937), pp. 200-10.

³ Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, part 2.

much greater care not to lose valuable pieces. Eleventh-century hoards from Antioch and its region are extremely few, in any metal. Our positive information about the currency of the duchy is thus restricted to the everyday denomination of the copper follis.

If the Byzantine duchy simply shared the common currency of the Empire, it was quite otherwise under Frankish rule. The principality of Antioch had its own distinctive currency from the days of Bohemond I onwards. In principle, it served the needs not only of the city of Antioch itself, but of all the territory over which the princes ruled. It was the controlled currency of a political state, such as we are familiar with today. Foreign coins were not permitted to circulate (with the probable exception of crusader gold bezants minted in the Latin Kingdom or in Tripoli). Even after Antioch and Tripoli were united politically, in 1187, Tripoli continued to mint its own distinctive currency, which is completely absent from Antiochene hoards, and is not represented in the Antioch excavations. Anyone arriving with foreign silver, e.g. from Tripoli or Jerusalem, or from Italy, would need to visit a money-changer to exchange it at the going rate — much as we do today. The foreign coins would be melted down at the mint, the silver refined and re-alloyed, and the bullion was thus recycled into Antiochene coins. This process of recycling was happening routinely and on a considerable scale⁴. For us, it means that the curve of mint-output is a good measure of the inflows of silver bullion into the Frankish state. There may, conversely, have been outflows, and unfortunately it is difficult to assess them, because other political states generally also had controlled currencies, and would have required any inflows of Antiochene billon coins, and any other coins, to be melted down. Thus, evidence of outflows tended to disappear into the melting-pot. Copper coins, of low value, were probably not much carried across frontiers, in either direction (although there are a few Tripolitan coppers among the Antioch site-finds). What we can say with some confidence is that Antioch normally ran a balance-of-payments surplus in silver, because successive issues from the mint accumulated in the currency. The currency tended to have a long age-profile, as revealed by the composition of

⁴ D.M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Questions Arising out of the Role of the Templars as Guardians of the Northern Marches of the Principality of Antioch', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Latin Medieval Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 77-87.

the hoards of billon deniers. The Antiochene denier of the twelfth/thirteenth century was in that sense a strong currency, remaining stable for a hundred years or more. At its apogee there were certainly several millions of deniers in existence in the principality. Antioch is thus revealed as a wealthy state. A major source of its wealth was presumably the long-distance trade along the northerly routes which reached the Mediterranean via Antioch. The billon denier of Antioch is far more plentiful today than those of either Tripoli or Jerusalem. A caveat is necessary. We ought to take account of the combined total of both silver and gold coins. The Latin Kingdom may have had a currency with as large a book value as that of Antioch, but made up mostly of gold, whereas there was very little gold in Antioch. Crusader gold bezants were struck from a great many pairs of different dies, but until a numismatist undertakes a systematic die-study of the gold bezants of the Latin Kingdom, we are in no position to assess which currency was the larger in terms of its total value. Also, it is only conjecture that there was very little gold in use in Antioch. The absence of hoards of gold could, in principle, be just a 'blind spot', i.e. an absence of evidence, not negative evidence. One doubts it, but that is ultimately a matter of opinion.

In spite of the generally excellent quality of the numismatic evidence from Antioch, there remain various specific topics where there is potentially plenty of numismatic detail from which to draw conclusions about monetary history, but where for one reason or another its significance is still rather clouded. In the midst of a well-studied subject, there are topics where progress remains to be made. Six such topics are sketched here, with an attempt to indicate how progress might be made in the future. They are:

1. The Byzantine copper coinage in the first few decades after the reconquest.
2. The coinage of the Seljuks of Syria, and its use in Antioch.
3. The copper coins from the first 30 years of Frankish rule.
4. The chronology of Raymond of Poitiers's coins.
5. Interpreting the billon deniers of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.
6. The question of crusader gold bezants in Antioch.

1. *The Byzantine copper coinage in the first few decades after the reconquest*

The copper coinage of the Byzantine Empire generally was growing in volume generation by generation, from the second quarter of the ninth century steadily through to the millennium and beyond⁵. Not long before the reconquest, the issues of Nikephoros II were superseded by a new design, on which the bust of the emperor was replaced by the bust of the Pantokrator, and the imperial name and title on the reverse by the four-line inscription, in a mixture of Greek and Latin letters, 'Ihsus Xristus Basileu' Basileu' — 'Jesus Christ, King of Those who Rule'⁶. These anonymous or 'Rex regnantium' folles are the first kind of tenth-century Byzantine coins to be found in quantity in the Antioch excavations, where they take over from Abbasid copper *fulus*. Anonymous folles were produced in a dozen different designs successively up to the time of Alexios I, and are referred to by numismatists as Class A, B, C, etc. The Antioch excavations yielded 427 of the anonymous folles, essentially single finds. Class A, of which there were 165 specimens, is by far the most elaborate. It continued to be issued for some sixty years without any change to the basic design. At some point, however, and Grierson argues that it may have been as early as 977, the size and weight of the folles were significantly increased — doubled, even — and an elaborate system of secret-marks was introduced. (Bellinger had previously been inclined to date the introduction of A2 to 989.) In the first phase, without secret-marks, which numismatists call Class A1, the folles were, in all respects except their design and inscription, simply a continuation of the preceding coins of Nikephoros. Just like the preceding coins, those of Class A1 are often shoddily restruck on earlier issues, traces of which can still be seen under the later design. The heavier, secret-marked pieces which inaugurate Class A2 (*Fig. 1*) probably reflect a recoinage, to assist with which some provincial mints may have been commissioned. (Being heavier, they are necessarily free from re-striking.) The reform may have

⁵ D.M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Recession in the Middle Byzantine Period: The Numismatic Evidence', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 161 (2001), pp. 111-55, see section 1, 'Sustained growth in the ninth and tenth centuries?', at pp. 113-15 and the general conclusion at p. 155.

⁶ For a recent thorough discussion of all the evidence, and a review of the extensive previous literature, see P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III (Washington, D.C., 1973) [= *DOC*], pp. 634-47 and elsewhere in the volume.



Fig 1. Anonymous follis, Class A2. Note the wavy ornaments above and below the reverse inscription. Bellinger, variety 1

involved the recall or demonetizing of Class A1. At all events, there is just one specimen of A1 from the Antioch excavations, against 164 of the secret-marked varieties. There are no earlier tenth-century folles whatsoever. That is remarkably clear-cut, and it is in sharp contrast with the Corinth excavations (23 specimens of A1, and 75 later varieties of Class A) and the Athens excavations (18 against 81)⁷. The general conclusion seems to be that the reconquest did not immediately result in a heavy influx of new copper coinage. Before the reconquest, too, the tenth century seems to have been a very depressed period in the monetary history of Antioch. Stray losses of Abbasid coins are extremely plentiful in the excavations, dating from the second half of the eighth and from the ninth centuries (1,068 specimens)⁸. But from the tenth century, it seems that there is little or nothing. That is the background to the appearance at Antioch of the folles of Class A. The inflows will have been negligible until after the recoinage — and perhaps not very prompt even then, although it could have been part of the programme to supply the recently recovered province. In Cyprus, the same question arises. There, the tenth-century hiatus is just as pronounced, and the monetary recovery was even more sluggish. Byzantine copper coins do not become plentiful again as stray finds in Cyprus until virtually the time of Alexios I⁹. From the

⁷ D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe, 820-1396* (London, 1979), chapter 3.4, 'The 'Rex Regnantium' folles', Classes A-1, A-2, and A-3. Provincial minting for the reformed coinage of Class A-2'. See the Table at p. 59.

⁸ G.C. Miles, 'Islamic Coins', in D.B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, part 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, Princeton, 1948, pp. 109-24. The latest identified Abbasid coin is a singleton of al-Muqtadir, 908-32. Metcalf, 'Monetary Recession' (see n. 5), section 8.1, 'Antioch: a special case'.

⁹ D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage as Evidence for the Changing Prosperity of Cyprus in Byzantine and Medieval Times*, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Lectures on the

Curium excavations of 1932-1953, for example, which yielded many hundreds of earlier Byzantine coins, there is just one specimen of Class A, one of Class B, and one of Constantine X¹⁰. That is all that there is from the tenth/eleventh centuries.

One way of judging the date, within the sixty-year time-frame of Class A, when the volume of transactions at Antioch picked up again, with consequential accidental losses, is to look at the ratio of finds of Class A to Class B (and similarly of B to C) at Antioch, as compared with Corinth or Athens. The Table is extracted from an article by my friend and namesake, William E. Metcalf, to which we shall return in a moment¹¹. In preparation for it, he re-examined the Antioch site-finds and wrote a detailed catalogue of the coins of Class A.

TABLE I
Site-finds of Anonymous folles

	Corinth		Athens	Antioch
	1896-1929	1929-1939		
Class A	825	2,560	623	163
Class B	154	527	218	125
Class C	96	not given	154	80

It can be seen that in central Greece, Class A outnumbers B by a factor of roughly three to four times, whereas at Antioch it is only by a factor of one and a quarter. The ratio of B to C, on the other hand, is more nearly consistent, at all three sites. One explanation would be that the losses of coins of Class A at Antioch occurred over a distinctly shorter time-span.

That all seems reasonable enough; but the mint-attributions and even the dating of the sub-varieties of Class A have been and remain to some extent controversial. William Metcalf, in the article just referred to, notes that Class A1 was scarce also in the Sardis excavations. He argues carefully that A1 is not necessarily early. Its lettering shows many differences

History of Coinage, 4 (Nicosia, 2003), see Appendix II, 'Coin finds from Cyprus from 700-965'.

¹⁰ D.H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 145 (New York, 1959).

¹¹ W.E. Metcalf, 'Early Anonymous Folles from Antioch and the Chronology of Class A', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 21 (1976), pp. 109-28.

from that of the coinage of Nikephoros II. It is rarely found in Anatolian contexts. Its abundance at Athens and Corinth is because it was minted in central Greece. That is why it is not found at Antioch. Its date-range is the same as that for Class A2. Dr Metcalf, writing in 1976, is careful to explain that his views (which the present writer finds unpersuasive) do not amount to proof. If A1 is contemporary with A2 it is certainly an anomaly that it, alone, should lack secret-marks. 'The problem', he concludes, 'is incapable of resolution in the present state of the evidence: only detailed publication of hoards will permit an advance beyond mere speculation.' Hoards containing a mixture of coins of Classes A1 and A2 would perhaps support Dr Metcalf's position. At least, they would cast doubt on the idea that A1 was withdrawn in the course of a major recoinage. But hoards of Class A2 which lack A1 would presumably not persuade Dr Metcalf, if he thinks that A1 stayed largely in central Greece, and rarely reached Asia Minor. (Unless those hoards were from Greece?) How much mingling of copper coinage was there between provinces?

One possible answer, which has become available since 1976, comes from Martin Harrison's excavations at Saraçane, Istanbul, where four specimens of A1 were recovered, against 21 of A2¹². This one-to-five ratio (on the basis, unfortunately, of rather small total numbers) may be compared with a one-to-three/four ratio in central Greece. It serves to put a question-mark, at least, against Dr Metcalf's suggested Greek attribution of Class A1 — and also against the tight compartmentalization of currencies within provinces, which is a necessary part of his argument.

For the general historian, the main point to emerge from the numismatic evidence is perhaps that the context of the reconquest was not that of thriving provinces, either in Cyprus or in what became the duchy of Antioch. Both before and directly after the 960s, their monetary economies were moribund. The motor which seems to have been driving the monetary economy of the Empire lay in the West, and in the ever-growing trading contacts with Italy via central Greece¹³.

¹² The excavations of 1964-9 yielded more than 1,000 coins. See M.F. Hendy, 'The Coins', in R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçane in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1986), I, pp. 278-373.

¹³ Metcalf, 'Monetary Recession' (see n. 5), at p. 155.

We can usefully put the finds of Class A folles from Antioch into a longer perspective, by noting that after 165 finds of A, 125 of B, and 80 of C, there are just 8 of D, none of E or F, 5 of G, 2 of H, 22 of I, 4 of J, and 15 of K. Various scholars have published histograms showing the loss-rates *per annum*¹⁴. One possible explanation which comes to mind is that copper coinage was consigned to Antioch by the central government (to facilitate official payments, etc.) during the currency of Classes A, B, and C, but not thereafter. But if that had happened during the currency of Class A2, with its fifty or more secret-marks, might not one have expected to see more clusters of particular sub-varieties, rather than the wide spread of sub-varieties that we in fact see? Would the government have sent out a mixture of old folles drawn from circulation, or freshly-minted coins straight from the mint? We do not know. Another possible explanation, although not at first sight a very persuasive one, is that folles reached Antioch and accumulated there in the normal course of trade. Dr William Metcalf questioned the attribution of certain sub-varieties to central Greece on the grounds that they were plentiful also at Antioch. The argument may be correct; but long-distance trade between central Greece and Antioch is by no means unlikely. Copper coins were certainly carried in the other direction in the early twelfth century, as we shall see in sections 2 and 3 below.

It appears from the statistics that the inflows of copper coinage into Antioch dwindled sharply during or at the end of Class C. Grierson has firmly dated the introduction of Class C to 1042, by identifying the obverse design as based on the icon of Christ Antiphonetes, to which the Empress Zoe was particularly devoted¹⁵. (Earlier scholars had been inclined, for no very precise reasons, to assign Class C to 1034-41.) Grierson also notes that Classes A and B were not systematically withdrawn from circulation: hoards, and overstrikes, show that they remained in use alongside later types. It would seem, in short, that Antioch was supplied

¹⁴ For Corinth, Athens, and Antioch, see the diagrams in D.M. Metcalf, 'The Currency of Byzantine Coins in Syrmia and Slavonia', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 4 (Part 14) (1960), pp. 429-44, at pp. 442-3; C. Morrisson, 'Monnaie et finances dans l'Empire byzantin, Xe — XIVe siècle', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, II (Paris, 1992), pp. 291-315, at pp. 302-3; reprint in C. Morrisson, *Monnaie et finances à Byzance: Analyses, techniques*, Variorum, CS 461 (Aldershot, 1994). Note that the graph for Antioch is defective in both cases, the first because it omits the Islamic coins, the second because it distributes them right up to 969.

¹⁵ Grierson, *DOC* (see n. 6), p. 639.

with a copper currency up to the early 1040s but not much thereafter. When the supply began is not clear: possibly not until a date in the eleventh century, although consignment from the mint would doubtless be in the current type. There is a marked contrast with central Greece, where the stray losses on a *per annum* basis remain at a high level at Corinth, and even continue to grow at Athens. At Antioch they tail off after the early 1040s, until the time of Constantine X (1059-67), from whose reign there are 57 signed folles of Constantine with Eudokia (*Fig. 2*), plus a further eight specimens of Constantine's second type, showing his crowned bust (*Fig. 3*). From the surrounding area, there are further specimens of both types, from St Barlaam's Monastery, St Symeon's Monastery, and St Symeon's baptistery. These three specimens occur among just eleven middle Byzantine coins published by Djobadze. There are yet more coins of Constantine X in Sir Leonard Woolley's hoard from al-Mina — four of Constantine and Eudokia and four more of Constantine alone, one of Anonymous Class G, one of Michael VII, and a couple of Anonymous Class I (post-Michael VII): the hoard shows a pronounced blip on the currency in the time of Constantine X. Whether the reversion to an

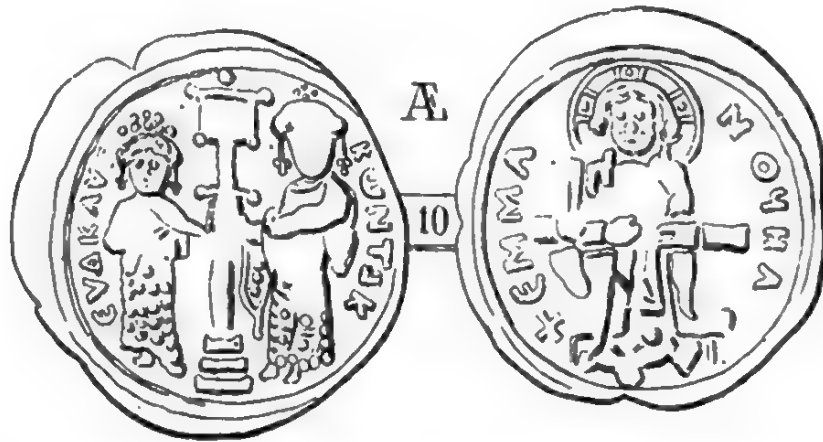


Fig. 2. Follis of Constantine X with Eudokia

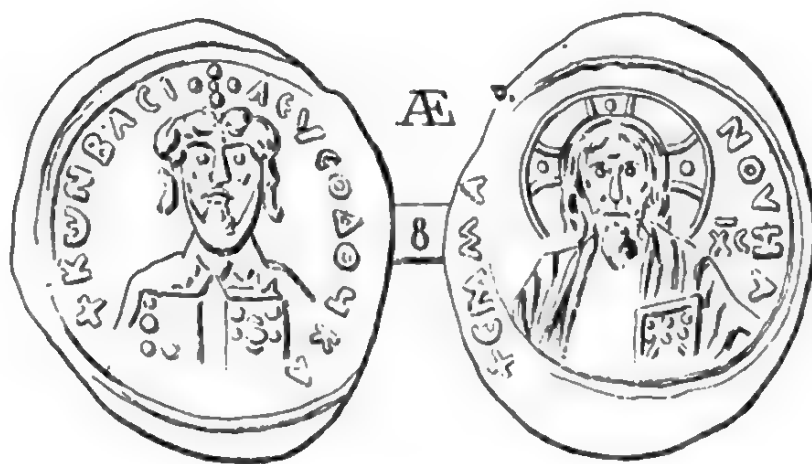


Fig. 3. Follis of Constantine X (second type)

imperial portrait and title was programmatic is not clear; certainly, the two types are relatively less plentiful at Corinth and Athens, and there were none at Saraçane¹⁶. It seems that they were consigned to the East. After that there was a phase when much less copper coinage reached the region. Note also the chronologically isolated find of a coin of Constantine from Curium, mentioned above.

In principle, if we could excise the blips from the graph of coin losses at Antioch, we should be left with an indication of the quantities of successive coin types arriving in the region by the 'natural' processes of monetary circulation.

Professor Cheynet has explored the sigillographic evidence from the eleventh-century duchy, emphasizing the military character of the administration¹⁷. It would be an interesting enquiry to range the seals against the chronology of hesitant development, with (apparently) a new impetus under Constantine X, which has been sketched here from the evidence of the coin finds.

How might future numismatic research clarify our ideas? The discovery of a hoard, even quite a small hoard, consisting exclusively of Class A folles would probably raise various interesting questions. The varieties of secret-marks in such a hoard might well re-open controversies about provincial minting. Also, progress made elsewhere in understanding the secret-marks may have repercussions for Antioch. Otherwise, it is to be hoped that archaeologists will scrupulously record their tenth/eleventh-century coin finds one by one, with notes on their contexts. It may be, for example, that the rise in the numbers of losses of Anonymous folles in the city of Antioch itself was a decade or two ahead of the corresponding rise in the surrounding region. That is an idea that needs to be checked circumspectly, because small totals of finds are subject to relatively wide margins of statistical uncertainty.

One would urge one's colleagues, also, to record the weights of individual coins. The metrology of the Anonymous folles is a topic whose time has not yet come; but it may do so.

¹⁶ See the Table in Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe* (see n. 7), at p.72. See Grierson, *DOC* (see n. 6), pp. 764-6.

¹⁷ See Jean Claude Cheynet's article in this volume.

2. *The coinage of the Seljuks of Syria, and its use in Antioch*

For twelve or thirteen years preceding the First Crusade, Antioch lay within the Seljuk sultanate. The Seljuks had conquered Syria between 1070 and 1079. In 1078 the sultan Malik-Shah created the principality of Syria as an apanage for his brother Tutush, who made Damascus his capital. The city of Antioch was eventually captured, by treachery, in 1085; and in 1087 a Turkoman named Yaghi-Siyan was installed as its governor. He ruled with a degree of autonomy, until Ridwan of Aleppo gained overlordship over Antioch in February 1095. It was from Yaghi-Siyan that the crusaders captured the city, again through treachery¹⁸.

The Seljuks of Syria struck their own copper coinage, of which at least 74 specimens were found in the Princeton excavations at Antioch¹⁹. They were found for the most part one by one, but there are two small groups, excavated in April 1937. They are strange coins, atrociously struck, often with the impression of several dies on one flan. They bear pictorial types, of an elephant, a lion, or a crane (in all, 43 specimens), or else inscriptions (31 specimens). These are difficult to decipher, but George Miles was able to read the name of Ridwan²⁰. Hennequin expresses the opinion that one can perhaps also read the name of Malik-Shah²¹. Those specimens at least will have been minted in Aleppo — unless Ridwan's name appears merely as overlord. As for the majority of the specimens, it is unclear where they were struck. Miles gives his impression of them when he says that they might have been made 'by striking many times with several dies at random over a large sheet of

¹⁸ For an overview of the rather fluid political context, see *Crusades*, I, ed. Setton, at pp. 94 f., 152, etc.

¹⁹ G.C. Miles, 'Islamic Coins' (see n. 8). In the mini-essay which accompanies the catalogue entries 155-6, Miles speaks of 'ninety-odd' specimens, whereas the catalogue shows just 74. It is not clear how the two figures should be reconciled, unless various illegible pieces, which Miles thought were Seljuk, are tabulated elsewhere. There were, in effect, ninety-odd finds from Corinth. Miles illustrates 25 of the better pieces, in order to show the nineteen types, (a) to (s), which he lists. These types refer to just one side of the coin, and occur in various combinations.

²⁰ G.C. Miles, 'The Circulation of Islamic Coinage of the 8th-12th Centuries in Greece', *Congresso internazionale di numismatica, Roma, 1961*, II, *Atti* (Rome, 1965), pp. 485-98, at pp. 488 f. and 496 f. Most recently, see G. Hennequin, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale — Asie pré-mongole: Les Sal???qs et leurs successeurs* (Paris, 1985), pp. 149-55, and cat. nos 220-9. Hennequin made full enquiries in New York about what was left by George Miles among his papers.

²¹ *Ibid.*

metal which was then cut into pieces'. On the basis of reading Ridwan's name, Miles was inclined to date the coins to within the period 1085-1114²². A narrower date range is, of course, possible; and the coins which do not name Ridwan are, again, up in the air. The full date-range would imply that (some or all of) the coins were carried from Aleppo to Antioch in the course of trade, before Ridwan's overlordship, which began in 1095. It would also imply that they continued to be acceptable when Antioch was under Frankish rule.

So far, so good — if rather imprecise. The topic becomes much more intriguing when we notice that a hoard of these curious Seljuk coins has been found in the American excavations at Corinth. There were 65 pieces, plus six Byzantine coppers, mostly Anonymous, and terminating with Alexios I. The hoard was found in a room of a Byzantine-period house, built over the remains of the classical theatre of Corinth²³. Two more Seljuk coins were found separately in the same room (how close?), and three more in the general area of the Theatre. There were another fifteen specimens widely scattered through the area of the excavations, including Lechaion, the port for Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf²⁴. The hoard almost certainly represents a sum of money carried westwards from Antioch — and not by a Seljuk! The obvious candidate is a crusader returning home after the First Crusade, taking ship from Antioch, and transferring across the Isthmus via Corinth. The stray find in the westerly port neatly illustrates the onward journey.

The single finds from Corinth are even more remarkable than the hoard, as the bulk of them must be presumed to be casual losses from the local currency. They tend to prove that there were repeated and numerous contacts between Antioch and Corinth. Either there were many such homeward travellers — crusaders or pilgrims — or (as Miles suggests) there was an active trade at Corinth in Islamic wares, e.g. ceramics and textiles, from Aleppo and further east. The stray finds certainly cannot be explained (as the hoard could be) by the hypothesis

²² Miles, 'Circulation of Islamic Coinage' (see n. 20).

²³ T.L. Shear, 'Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1928', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 32 (1928), pp. 474-95, at p. 482 and Fig. 5 (illustrations of some Seljuk coins); R.L. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, *Corinth Reports* (Princeton, 1957), 16, at p. 50; Miles, 'Circulation of Islamic Coinage' (see n. 20).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

of a single visit, or a single unfortunate traveller, who buried his money overnight, and was unable for whatever reason to dig it up again the next day. They are, moreover, strictly a local phenomenon, for Miles was able to verify that there were absolutely no Seljuk coins from the extensive American excavations in the Athenian Agora²⁵.

The question arises whether Seljuk coins remained in circulation in Antioch after the Frankish conquest, and if so, for how long. Miles speaks about 'two small groups of Seljuk coins [which] were found associated with Byzantine and crusader coins' and gives the reference 17-O, Digs 3 and 4, April 1937. If a group means a small hoard (rather than merely a compact context, which would be rather less than 100 per cent secure evidence), then the crusader coins prove the continued use of the Seljuk coppers and provide a *terminus post quem*. The detail deserves to be spelled out very carefully, although the excavators' note-books may be sketchy on the closeness of association. On the hypothesis of a returning crusader, it need not have been long. The folles of Bohemond I, however, are exceedingly scarce (see the next section), which hints that Seljuk coins might have been allowed to circulate for a few more years rather than a few months. On the hypothesis of long-distance trade coming through Aleppo, arguments based on the presumed historical context are inconclusive. The best evidence, perhaps, is from the relative numbers of Seljuk copper and coppers of the princes of Antioch: 74 of the former, and 84 of the latter. The chances of the two kinds being accidentally lost were presumably very much the same, so the totals should be approximately a function of the quantities in circulation in Antioch, multiplied by the length of time they remained in use.

As regards future research, almost everything remains to be done. The group of coins from April 1937 should be clarified. That apart, the obvious desideratum is excavation material from Aleppo, to see whether the same types are present there in similar proportions. Miles photographed the Corinth coins with a view to publishing the hoard, but he did not complete the work before his death in 1975. There is an obvious task, if a thankless one, awaiting some numismatist, to prepare and publish a fully illustrated corpus of the coins of the Seljuks of Syria. There will be delicate numismatic judgements to be made about which is the latest type on restruck flans. For the general historian, progress (if there is to

²⁵ Ibid.

be any) is likely to come from a quite broad comparison of three assemblages of specimens, namely the Antioch site-finds, the Corinth hoard, and the Corinth site-finds. If there are any over-all differences among the three, e.g. in the proportions of the 'elephant' type, the 'lion' type, etc., they will probably arise from differences in the date-range of each group. There may be perceptible differences just in the general appearance and quality of the coins in the three groups, and that is why a full photographic record is necessary. Weights may also give a clue.

3. *The copper coins from the first thirty years of Frankish rule*

During the first decades of the Frankish principality, the rulers minted coinage in their own names, but only in copper. In this they followed the example of the Seljuks. If any precious-metal coinage was in use within the frontiers of the new state, it is likely to have consisted of gold dinars of the caliphate. Silver bullion was in very short supply throughout the Levant at this time. Hoards found in Antiochene territory would tell us more, but none is on record²⁶.

Copper folles of Antioch, Byzantine in their style and iconography, are known in the names of Bohemond I, Tancred, Roger, and Bohemond II. There were eleven or twelve different designs issued successively, over a period of 20 to 25 years (*Fig. 4*). Thus, there are four types for Tancred (March 1101-May 1103 and late 1104-December 1112), and three for Roger (December 1112-June 1119). If the types were of equal duration, they will have lasted for two years, or a little longer²⁷. One wonders whether there was, for a time, a deliberate plan to replace the copper currency every second year, at a charge to those who brought old coins to be restruck, yielding a source of revenue to the prince. If there was such a system, one might expect the changeover to have been normally at the same season of the year: it affected not just the city of Antioch (where a proclamation might have sufficed), but the whole territory of the principality, stretching into Cilicia. We do not know, however,

²⁶ The 'group' from April 1937 mentioned above, which may be a hoard, deserves clarification. There is the little hoard from the excavations in 1932, comprising 15 billion deniers of Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, and Le Puy, but as it is manifestly a traveller's hoard, it is of little or no help for the present purpose.

²⁷ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), pp. 22-30, and catalogue nos 47-106, including the Dr Martin Rheinheimer collection.



Fig. 4. The main types of early Frankish Antiochene folles (Types 1, 3-12)

that each successive type was demonetized by the next. The necessary evidence for that would consist of a series of one-type hoards. But if a type is found overstruck on more than one earlier type, that is evidence of a sort that the procedure was not thorough.

The Antioch excavations yielded 84 specimens, as mentioned above, of these early copper coins. The loss-rate was highest in the fourth to sixth types, i.e. c. 1106-12 (but losses may have continued over a longer period if they were not withdrawn from circulation).²⁸ Bedoukian attempted to reattribute to Antioch a large block of similar copper folles traditionally given to Count Baldwin II at Edessa, c. 1110-18. Their obverse shows a standing figure of the count in helmet and chain armour, with sword and shield, closely similar to other Edessene types. Bedoukian proposes that they were minted at Antioch in 1119-26, on the evidence of overstrikes.²⁹ But the fact that an overstrike is on an old Antiochene coin is not sufficient proof that it was overstruck in Antioch. Perhaps Antiochene coins found their way to Edessa. The overriding argument, as the writer sees it, is that no Edessene coppers whatsoever turned up in the Antioch excavations, much less any of the so-called 'armed man' type. Against 84 Antiochene coppers, that is statistically quite strong negative evidence.

Although folles minted in c. 1106-12 are the most plentiful of the successive types found in Antioch itself, at Corinth the nineteen single finds which have been recovered³⁰ are predominantly of the third type, with the bust of St Peter, and in the name of Tancred. They are presumed to date from late 1104 to late 1106 or thereabouts, although one cannot easily exclude the possibility that Tancred took the liberty of minting coins in his own name during his regency in March 1101-May 1103. The reverse inscription does not mention the word 'prince': merely, 'O Lord, come to the aid of thy servant Tancred'. In any case, this is the first substantive issue of folles, as coins of Bohemond are extremely scarce. One imagines that they reflect a systematic effort to replace the Seljuk coins.

²⁸ D.M. Metcalf, 'Coins of the Latin Princes of Antioch (1098-1130) Found at Corinth and Athens', *Nomismatika Khronika*, 14 (1995), pp. 77-82.

²⁹ P.Z. Bedoukian, 'The Small Armed-Man Coins of Baldwin II', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 32 (1987), pp. 159-67.

³⁰ All but two of these are finds from 1896-1939. The finds from 1940 onwards have not been included.

The outflows of these folles of Tancred to Corinth are probably part of the same story as the outflows of Seljuk coppers. Note that the Corinth hoard does not contain a mixture of Seljuk and Tancred's coins. It was presumably put together before Tancred's issue began. From the Athenian Agora excavations there are just two Antiochene coppers, of the first and third types respectively³¹.

The defeat and death of Roger and many of his knights at the 'field of blood' in June 1119 probably inflicted lasting damage on the long-distance trade of Antioch with its hinterland. There were six specimens attributed to Bohemond II³² among the Antioch site-finds. Porteous has argued that they belong to the period before Bohemond's arrival in the East in 1126, i.e. to the preceding governorship of Baldwin II³³. At all events, they mark the end, virtually, of the issues of Antiochene folles. Again, the existing coins may well have remained in use for another decade or two.

A couple of hoards of folles would be welcome, to show whether old types were demonetized. What would be even more welcome would be a substantial series of site-finds from one (or more) of the other urban centres of the principality — Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus in the north, and Lattaqiyah in the south. They might show that the types were all present in proportions similar to those seen at Antioch itself; or it might be that the other cities had their own mints. Coins from those cities could of course have circulated in Antioch. It becomes a question of relative proportions. From al-Mina, we have specimens of Types 1, 3, 4, 5, and 9³⁴, but the quantities are too small to form the basis of any firm conclusions. Without specific evidence, in abundance, we remain at risk of falling into the same sort of logical error as Bedoukian. That is where the unresolved problem of Antioch's early monetary history lies.

³¹ M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, II, Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (Princeton, 1954).

³² Certainly not Bohemond I, as they are overstruck on coins of Roger.

³³ J. Porteous, 'Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions', in *A History of the Crusades*, vi, ed. by H.W. Hazard and N.P. Zacour (Madison, Wisconsin, 1989), pp. 354-420, at p. 367.

³⁴ D. F. Allen, 'Coins from the Excavations at al-Mina (1936)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., 17 (1937), pp. 182-210, especially at p. 210.

Of the dozen types, all but one are religious, depicting St Peter (the patron saint of Antioch), St George, Christ, or the Mother of God. The exception is the much-discussed issue of Tancred on which he is shown shouldering a naked sword³⁵. One wonders whether the choice of this minatory design may not have had a particular political or military context.

4. *The chronology of Raymond of Poitiers's coins*

The three crusader states of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem each struck their own Western-style billon deniers in significant quantities, but not until the 1140s or thereabouts. There are exceptions to this pattern, in particular some early coins of Tripoli, with the names of Count Bertram (1109-12) and perhaps Pons (1112-37), modelled on the coins of Toulouse, but they are excessively rare, and cannot have constituted a viable currency. At Antioch, as we have seen in the preceding section, the coins issued during the first three decades of Frankish rule were exclusively of copper. All three states seem to have embarked upon minting silver at much the same time, and the question arises whether this was a concerted change, or merely the same response to the readier availability of bullion. One needs in each case to demonstrate, independently, the date when the new coinage was introduced, and that is where the difficulties begin. In the Latin Kingdom, the earliest substantive issue (apart from the perhaps earlier 'Moneta regis' type, on a very modest scale) names King Baldwin. As the coins are only 25/30 per cent pure silver, it is very unlikely that they could be of Baldwin II (1118-31), at which time better alloys were still prevalent. If the new coinage had been introduced by Fulk (1131-43), it would surely have been his name that appeared on it. We may conclude, therefore, that the monetary initiative belongs to Baldwin III, and is to be dated no earlier than 1143³⁶. At Tripoli, the elegant 'star and crescent' deniers, in the name of Raymond (presumably Raymond II, 1137-52, rather than Raymond III, 1152-87) are of similar alloy. The crux is that the star and crescent design appears on the deniers of the marquisate of Provence, the so-called *raimondins*, which cannot be

³⁵ R. Pesant, 'A Brief Review of the Coinage of Tancred of Antioch', *Numismatic Circular*, 102 (1994), pp. 56-7, and earlier literature summarized in Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), at p. 27.

³⁶ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), pp. 52-3.

earlier in date than the time of Raymond V of Toulouse, 1148-94. The copying could, in principle, have been in either direction, but there are, as we have seen, earlier instances where Tripolitan coins are modelled on Provençal prototypes³⁷.

The earliest deniers of Antioch were issued by Prince Raymond of Poitiers, 1136-49. They are so scarce today (fewer than twenty specimens are known) that one wonders whether they might not all have been issued after the arrival of Louis VII in Antioch in March 1148, and Raymond's death in June 1149, mainly for reasons of prestige³⁸. That would fall well within what we know of Raymond's personality. In support of that scheme of dating, one may mention that the earliest deniers of Bohemond III have a very similar portrait, the so-called 'man-in-the-moon' caricature, as occurs also among Raymond's coins (*Fig. 5*). It would be natural to assume that they were close in date³⁹. The scarcity of Raymond's coins may, however, be for a technical reason. They seem (from limited evidence) to be of a distinctly better quality alloy, e.g. *c.* 65 per cent silver, than the Antiochene deniers of Bohemond III, of the same design, which succeeded them, and which are only *c.* 30 to 35 per cent silver⁴⁰. If the analytical results are to be relied on, and assuming the coins were tariffed at the same face value, there would have been a distinct risk that they would be culled and melted down, either officially

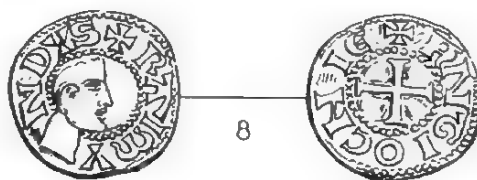


Fig. 5. The distinctive 'man-in-the-moon' profile, on a denier of Raymond (variety with long neck)

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 160-2.

³⁸ D.M. Metcalf, 'A New Variety of Denier of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (1136-49)', *Numismatic Circular*, 111 (2003), pp. 70-1.

³⁹ For the characteristic lunate profile, see Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), cat. no. 341.

⁴⁰ Analytical work by Professor A.A. Gordus is reported in general terms in A.G. Malloy, I.F. Preston, and A.J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098-1291* (New York, 1994), at pp. 185-6.

or unofficially. That would be one possible explanation why virtually none survive in the couple of large hoards that we know of⁴¹. (Other possible explanations are, (1) simply that they were relatively so few anyway, and (2) that any coins of Raymond were, alas, removed from the hoards by middlemen before they reached the hands of a scholar.) If culling is indeed the explanation for their scarcity, Raymond's coins may once have been rather more plentiful, and there is no argument to attribute them to the final fifteen months of his reign just because of their scarcity. Indeed, their alloy would seem to be more appropriate to the early years of the reign.

It is possible to get back behind the hypothetical event of culling. If there was a phase when Raymond's coins were plentiful, their circulation in Antioch would have generated stray losses. The ratio of coins of Raymond to the bare-head coins of Bohemond III among the site-finds should therefore be a rough measure of the volume of the two currencies, multiplied by the number of years they remained in use respectively. The numbers, 0 against 3, are unfortunately far too tiny to be of any statistical validity.

The investigation of the alloy of Raymond's coins needs to be explained in a little more detail. Back in 1968-9, the writer collaborated with Professor A.A. Gordus, of the University of Michigan, who had developed two non-destructive methods of analysing the metal contents of coins by neutron activation, one of which did not involve removing them from their home, e.g. in a museum⁴². He rubbed a tube of roughened quartz against the edge of the coin, to collect a 'streak' of the alloy, which he could then take back to Ann Arbor and analyse at leisure. Care was taken to avoid, as far as possible, the effects of surface enrichment, but it would be optimistic to suppose that the results are entirely free from that problem. Two separate streaks were taken from each coin, and one might, arguably, do better to pay attention to the lower of the two results for silver. One is on reasonably safe ground, in any case, if one focuses on the difference between the results obtained for Raymond of

⁴¹ There was one among 76 'bare head' coins of Bohemond III in the 'Ras Shamra' hoard, and one (apparently an intruder) in the Subak hoard.

⁴² A.A. Gordus, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Coins and Coin-Streaks', in *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, ed. E.T. Hall and D.M. Metcalf (London, 1972), pp. 127-48.

Poitiers and for Bohemond III. Four specimens of Raymond's coinage in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford or in the writer's personal collection were analysed, and five of Bohemond. Raymond's coins showed average silver contents of 64.6, 68.5, and 42.7 per cent. (or, choosing the lower of the two values, 61.6, 66.9, 38.8 per cent.). The fourth coin, manifestly a contemporary forgery, turned out to contain only copper. The coins of Bohemond showed 37.2, 31.0, 35.6, 35.2, and 31.2 per cent silver. The first two coins are of an alloy some 30 per cent better than that employed by Bohemond, and the third is also better, if only by 5-10 per cent. (Analyses by Professor Gordus's other new method, the 'Howitzer' method, showed a somewhat smaller gap.) The analyses are footnoted in the Ashmolean catalogue⁴³. Even on the evidence of the two coins of Raymond containing c. 60/65 per cent silver, we can conclude that some, and perhaps many, of his coins were of a much better alloy than those of Bohemond (making culling well worth while), and that debasement occurred during the period of Raymond's issues. General experience suggests that a 60 per cent⁴⁴ alloy would no longer have been used in 1148.

We do have one interesting hoard which was trawled up as a corroded lump (having been in a cloth bag?) by fishermen working out of Haifa, and which was acquired in its uncleaned state by a distinguished numismatist. We can therefore be certain that no coins were abstracted from it. It consisted of 257 billon coins, among them just four of Raymond. The bulk of the hoard consisted of coins of Lucca and Valence, with a few of Normandy, Melle in Poitou, and Vienne. There were definitely none of Bohemond III, and none of Baldwin III — which suggests, although it cannot absolutely prove, that the Jerusalem deniers were not yet in issue when the hoard was lost⁴⁵. The coins' immersion in the sea may have resulted in changes to their alloy, making analysis of doubtful value.

⁴³ Nos 335, 337, 340, 341-4, and 351. These include coins given to the museum many years later by the writer.

⁴⁴ D. M. Metcalf, 'Analyses of the Metal Contents of Medieval Coins', in *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation* (see n. 42), pp. 383-434, at pp. 421-3; C. Desimoni, 'La décroissance graduelle du denier, de la fin du XIe au commencement du XIIIe siècle', *Mélanges de Numismatique*, 3 (1878), pp. 52-79; F. Dumas and J.-N. Barrandon, *Le titre et le poids de fin des monnaies sous le règne de Philippe Auguste (1180-1223)*, Cahiers Ernest-Babelon, 1 (Paris, 1982).

⁴⁵ D.M. Metcalf, 'A twelfth-Century Hoard from the Sea Dated by Coins of Raymond of Poitiers', *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 8 (1984-5), pp. 77-83.

At the end of the day, the numismatic arguments appear reasonably secure, even if the exact percentages may be imprecise. The alloy of Raymond's deniers favours as early a start date as possible, i.e. distinctly before 1148. In order to remove any uncertainty, new non-destructive chemical analyses are desirable, of at least half-a-dozen specimens of Raymond's coins, and while one is at it, of a sample of early examples from the succeeding reign. A more refined method, such as electron probe microanalysis with wavelength dispersive spectrometry, would be best. As regards the 'man-in-the-moon' profile, the argument may be deceptive. The styles of lettering on the coins in question, of Raymond and of Bohemond, are very different, and the style of the latter is distinctive and entirely in keeping with Class 1 of Bohemond's issues⁴⁶. Perhaps, therefore, the die-engraver deliberately imitated the distinctive profile of the earlier coin; but it did not occur to him to copy the style of lettering.

If there is a parallel between the first substantive issues of deniers at Jerusalem and at Antioch, perhaps the comparison should be with Bohemond's issues, not those of Raymond — which, in terms of monetary developments, should be compared with the 'Moneta regis' type in the south. The identity of design between the coins of Raymond and Bohemond may have misled us as to their continuity. It follows that Bohemond's coinage need not have begun immediately on his accession; and if the three new coinages of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem were launched simultaneously or nearly so (which is very much a conjecture), it need not have been quite as early as 1149.

5. Interpreting the billon deniers of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century

Medieval numismatists tend to inhabit a parallel world of the past, alongside the real world which historians explore, and sometimes there is even, alas, a glass wall of silence between the two worlds. The numismatists busily acquire and refine upon precise and detailed information, but the general historical implications are not easily transferred across to the other side. There may be some perfectly valid reasons why

⁴⁶ For a diagram (after Sabine) showing the lettering style, see Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), at p.122.

this should be so. One is that twelfth-century coin types, especially in the French tradition, were often 'immobilized', that is to say, they maintained a familiar and acceptable design, and went on using the name of a ruler, sometimes long after his death. Coin types were not necessarily changed promptly with the accession of a new ruler — unlike seals. More generally, mismatching may occur because of chronological imprecision. The coins will generate a relative chronology, but it remains difficult to find anchor points where it can be tied to an absolute chronology. That certainly applies to the deniers of Antioch, as we shall see. The problem is exacerbated because the hoards of Antiochene deniers so rarely include any other types of coinage, which might provide an opportunity to cross-check the chronology. Likewise, the Antiochene coins rarely turn up in hoards elsewhere.

The billon deniers of Bohemond III and his successors exemplify a highly reliable relative chronology, which remains difficult to anchor. The coins are the most plentiful of all crusader coins today, because they have been found in large hoards. These hoards, which have made thousands of specimens available for study (compared with fewer than twenty of Raymond of Poitiers), have been the subject of numerous scholarly articles ever since Derek Allen, as a young assistant keeper in the British Museum, was assigned the task of writing up the crusader coin finds from al-Mina in 1936. He had learned his craft sitting at the feet of great numismatists in the tradition fostered by the British Numismatic Society. Long series of coins were there to be classified into successive small groups on the basis of a minute study of variations in letter-forms, and the resultant scheme of classification was to be tested by its explanatory power when tried against a succession of hoards. That was what one did. Allen noted that no attempt had previously been made to classify the deniers of Antioch in that sense, and he duly embarked upon the task. His classification of the 'helmet' deniers, i.e. the main series, showing the prince in a helmet and chain armour, was published in 1937. (To the lay person today, as to the twelfth-century user of the coins, all the varieties look very much alike. In no way do they resemble the early copper folles of Antioch, where successive types were of different designs, distinguishable at a glance.) Allen identified nine main types, in two sequences, which he numbered 1 to 6, and 1* to 3*. In addition there are the matching Antiochene coins of Raymond-Roupen (the Armenian grandson of Bohemond III), which do not correspond closely in the details of their style with any of Bohemond's

types (*Fig. 6*). Allen's interpretation of Types 1* to 3* (on which the little crescents used to represent the chain armours are upside-down vis-à-vis Types 1-6; see *Fig. 7*) was that they were certainly not part of the main series, and that they perhaps belonged to a second, unofficial mint, operated for Raymond-Roupen before he was in a position to issue coins in his own name. The years 1205-8 and 1216-19 have both been considered possible for Raymond-Roupen's proper coins. The earlier period is not, however, at all likely, both because he was a mere child, and because Bohemond's faction continued to control the citadel, where doubtless the mint was situated. There was a fresh specimen of Type 3* in the Tripoli hoard, *terminus post quem* c. 1221.⁴⁷ Another explanation, therefore, might be that Series 1*-3* was struck for Bohemond (as its legend states) while Raymond-Roupen's party was in control of Antioch.

The coins of Raymond-Roupen provide a first anchor-point at 1216-19, although not without some remaining uncertainties. There the matter rested until 1962, when another, much earlier anchor-point was established through the study of the Samos hoard — a traveller's hoard excavated by W. Wrede in 1932 at Tigani, Samos, and consisting mostly of French feudal coins — and which was judged to have been concealed not later than 1185, and perhaps in 1182. It contained a coin of Antioch of Allen's Type 3⁴⁸.

Between the accession of Bohemond III in 1149, and c. 1182 we have to accommodate all the 'bare-head' deniers of Bohemond, and also the helmet deniers of Allen Types 1, 2, and at least the beginning of 3. This exercise is something like playing a concertina, in the sense that there is no expectation that the successive types were of equal duration. Bohemond's 'bare-head' coins were extremely scarce, i.e. a mere half-dozen specimens were known, until a whole clutch of hoards came to light in the 1960s, from 'near Aleppo', from near Lattaqiyah (allegedly in the castle of Ras Shamra), and from an unknown location. These contributed

⁴⁷ For the most recent discussion of the exact date of the Tripoli hoard (which, to within five years or so, has never been in question), see D.M. Metcalf, 'A Large Hoard from the Latin East Concealed during the Reign of Henry I of Cyprus (1218-53)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 157 (1997), pp. 133-56, at pp. 133-6.

⁴⁸ J. Duplessy and D.M. Metcalf, 'Le trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en Orient latin aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Revue belge de numismatique*, 108 (1962), pp. 173-207 at pp. 179-80; D.M. Metcalf, 'The Samos Hoard: Corrigendum', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, vol. 7, parts 22/3 (1968/9), p. 470.

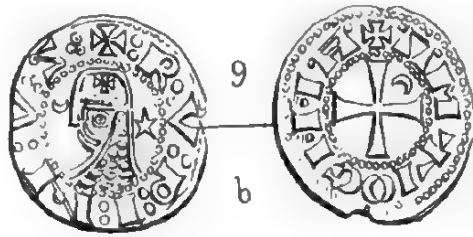


Fig. 6. Denier of Raymond-Roupen

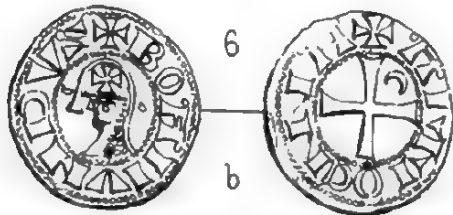


Fig. 7. Denier of Allen Types 1*-3* (Classes G-K) with chain mail represented by small crescents pointing downwards

10, 76, and 128 'bare-head' coins respectively. With this wealth of new material, there was every incentive to make a classification of the 'bare-head' series. A thorough die-study was undertaken of the largest of the three hoards, in 1969.⁴⁹ The coins were divided into Classes 1, 2a, and 2b. Class 2 shows a tripartite division suggestive of mint-operations divided between three workshops. Some 71 of the coins in the Ras Shamra hoard were published in 1972, with some refinement to the classification: fifteen specimens with a crescent superimposed on the prince's neck were grouped as a new Class 1b⁵⁰. In 1981 Sabine acquired an interesting new specimen, and used it as the basis for arguing (in the best traditions of the British Numismatic Society) that the classification should be re-arranged in the order 1a, 2b, 2a, 1b⁵¹. In 1983, in order to avoid confusion, the classes were re-labelled A (previously 1a), B (2b), C (2a), D (2a var.), and E (1b)⁵². Since then, two more substantial hoards have been published, which belong late in the sequence.

⁴⁹ D.M. Metcalf, 'Billon Coinage of the Crusading Principality of Antioch', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th Ser., 9 (1969), pp. 247-67, at pp. 248-55.

⁵⁰ D.M. Metcalf, 'The Ras Shamra hoard', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 7, parts 22/3 (1968-9, published 1972), pp. 462-6.

⁵¹ C.J. Sabine, 'The Sequence of Varieties of the 'bare head' type of Bohemund III of Antioch', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 141 (1981), pp. 158-63.

⁵² D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1983¹), at p. 33.

They allowed Class E to be subdivided into E1 and E2 (alias E and F)⁵³. The coins belong, obviously, to Bohemond's minority; he was installed as the ruler in 1163. Whether the 'helmet' coinage was launched on that occasion, or with a delay, we do not know. But 1163 is an obvious moment, and it would seem to be the earliest possible moment for the beginning of the 'helmet' deniers.

All this carefully considered numismatic detail is not, for the foreseeable future, disposable, or even something to be filed away and forgotten. The reason lies in the secret-marks, most commonly a crescent superimposed on the neck, but also pellets added in the legends. These marks were not meaningless, nor were they added at the whim of the die-cutter. They surely had some administrative significance, and one is inclined to assume that they were to do with financial accountability. The profits of minting belonged to the prince; but if there was a period when the profits were assigned to someone else, it may have seemed advisable to distinguish the coins minted in that period. After the death of Raymond of Poitiers, his widow Constance became regent for Bohemond. Bohemond's name, not that of Constance, appeared on the coins: he was prince, although *nondum suae potestatis*. Constance continued as regent until her marriage with Renaud of Châtillon in 1153. He then became regent, until 1160, after which Constance was again regent, until 1163. The scarce Class C var. of the 'bare-head' coins has a crescent on the neck, pointing downwards. It may be judged rather disfiguring. Class E1 has a similar crescent on the neck, but pointing upwards (*Fig. 8*). The styles of lettering of C var. and E1 are clearly different; but it is not impossible that both could belong to the regency of Renaud. Another possibility is that, following Renaud's capture in 1160, when King Baldwin placed the patriarch, Aimery, temporarily in charge of the administration, he was assigned the profits of the mint *pro tempore*⁵⁴. Or perhaps there is room for both possibilities: crescent downwards, crescent upwards. Class D (by definition) reads +A.NTIOCHIA, with a pellet. Class E2 regularly reads +ANTI.O.CHIA; it is lighter in weight than the preceding varieties, although well-controlled. There is, finally, a unique coin of Class B in Dr Marcus Phillips's collection, with the head facing

⁵³ D.M. Metcalf and J. Belaubre, 'The Early Coinage of Bohemond III of Antioch Reconsidered', *Revue numismatique*, 150 (1995), pp. 133-48.

⁵⁴ D.M. Metcalf, 'A New Variety of Denier of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (1136-49)', *Numismatic Circular*, 111 (2003), pp. 70-1; *Crusades*, 1, ed. Setton, at p. 546.

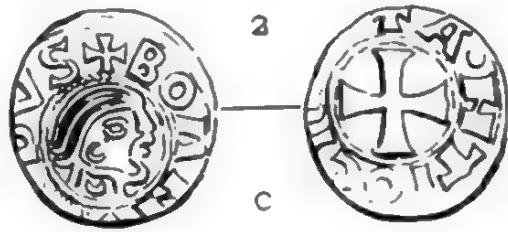


Fig. 8. 'Bare-head' denier with crescent superimposed on neck

left instead of right⁵⁵.

Although Renaud of Châtillon did not put his name on the Antiochene coinage, it seems that he used a seal on which he is described as prince of Antioch. The seal, which is now lost, was attached to an act of 1155, and was in the archives of the Order of St John at Malta. Its types are standard: a mounted knight, in conical helmet, galloping left, and carrying a shield with lance and pennon; on the reverse, St Peter and St Paul, facing, half-length⁵⁶. The obverse legend is +RAINALDVS PRINCEPS ANTIOCHENVVS, which is the formula used on very similar seals of Raymond of Poitiers and also of Bohemond III⁵⁷. The later seals of Bohemond III, and of Bohemond IV and Raymond-Roupen use the formula SIGILLVM BOAMVNDI PRINCIPIS ANTIOCHENI. It is unlikely that these two formulas alternated.

If we place the hoards into their chronological sequence, and list the proportions of each class of 'bare-head' coins in percentage terms, the tabulation helps us to form an idea of the progressive changes in the composition of the currency (*Table 2*).

From the circumstantial details reported by Phillips, and from the general similarity of the figures, it seems possible that the Paris and Phillips parcels are in fact parts of the same hoard. They show a currency in which Classes A and B have dwindled away. In principle, the same pattern could appear if mint-output was accelerating from class to class. We know, however, that Classes B and C were produced on a large scale: in

⁵⁵ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), at p. 123.

⁵⁶ G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), p. 33, no. 79; H.E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Bayerische Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, NF 83 (Munich, 1978), at pp. 19-22 (but Mayer has no comment on Renaud). Paoli's drawing of the seal of Raymond is reproduced as pl. 1, 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, nos 78 and 81.

TABLE 2
Hoards of 'bare-head' deniers: percentage composition by classes

Class	Subak	Ras Shamra	Paris	Phillips
A	13	3	0.4	2
B	66	18	5	2
C + C var.	21	45	28	30
D	—	9	5	4
E-1	—	24	47	55
E-2	—	1	13	4

the Subak hoard, 84 specimens are from 72 obverse and 69 reverse dies. Ras Shamra appears to be somewhat earlier, in spite of the presence of one specimen of Class E2. The Subak hoard is clearly the earliest. It may have been concealed before Class C was fully in circulation, as the ratio of C to B is lower than in the subsequent hoards. These changes took place, so far as we can judge, between 1149 and 1163, i.e. in a mere 14 years. They imply a considerable wastage from the currency in the early stages. It can hardly be natural wastage. One is inclined to set it in the context of the turbulent events of 1149-52.

In 1163, or possibly rather later, there was a recoinage at Antioch. The 'bare-head' deniers were called in, to be melted down and re-minted as 'helmet' deniers. The renewal involved (unusually) an increase in the weight-standard of the coins, from *c.* 0.75g to *c.* 0.96g.⁵⁸ This was accompanied by a reduction in the silver contents of the alloy from *c.* 30/35 per cent to *c.* 26/31 per cent⁵⁹. Thus the intrinsic value of the denier remained much the same. Derek Allen's original classification into Types 1 to 6 and 1* to 3* has been tested against numerous new hoards, and has been replaced by an essentially very similar scheme labelled Classes A to O. Classes G, H, I, J and K are equivalent to Allen's 1* to 3*, and L, M, and N are of Raymond-Roupen. Class O is a new-style coinage of *c.* 1230-40. A tabulation of the classes against the hoards shows very clearly that the large output of the Antioch mint was

⁵⁸ The average weight of the 'bare-head' coins drifted downwards during their period of issue, from *c.* 0.81/0.82g in Classes A, B, and C, to *c.* 0.73g for E1, and 0.65g for E2.

⁵⁹ These figures should not be taken too literally, as they derive from 'howitzer' and 'streak' analyses by Professor Gordus, which he would be the first to agree may be variable by one or two percentage points. Also, there are serious problems with surface enrichment of billon, not to mention a degree of variability in the original production of the alloy. And the 'bare-head' coins of Classes E1 and E2 have not been analyzed. Twenty 'helmet' coins were analyzed by Professor Gordus.

cut back after Classes E and F, possibly in 1187, following the defeat of the Latin states at the battle of the horns of Hattin. Classes A to F continued to make up the bulk of the currency for many years thereafter. Locating Classes E and F in relation to Hattin is usefully confirmed by the specimen of Class E (= Allen's Type 3) in the Samos hoard.

Class A has the helmeted head facing right, like the bare-head coins which preceded it. On all the other classes the helmeted head faces left (*Fig. 9*). It has been assumed that Class A was merely experimental in that respect. But as 'bare-head' coins with a reversed head have now turned up, one should ask oneself whether Class A was deliberately different — and, indeed, whether it necessarily stands at the beginning of the series. That position seems to be assured, however, by 'mules', i.e. scarce transitional coins which combine dies of two types. There is a possible A/B mule, and also a B/A mule. That anchors Class A pretty firmly, but one should perhaps be willing to look again at the detailed evidence if necessary⁶⁰.



Fig. 9. 'Helmet' deniers, showing right- and left-facing varieties

TABLE 3

Hoards of 'helmet' deniers: percentage composition by classes

Class	Lil.	R.Sh.	Ale.	S/1	Hav	S/2	Ner	Stew.	Mag.	Pes.	Min.
A	5	2	6	1	—	0	—	0	0	1	—
B	5	10	18	2	1	1	4	2	4	4	9
C	75	66	48	18	23	20	18	17	28	27	9
D	16	17	6	1	2	2	3	1	6	5	9
E	—	3	6	68	69	67	67	20	57	49	—
F	—	—	—	9	4	9	8	3	4	4	9
G-K	—	0?	6?	—	—	—	—	51	1	6	14
L-N	—	—	4?	—	—	—	—	—	0	3	9
O	—	0?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0?	43

⁶⁰ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), at p. 128, where mules involving Classes B, C, D, E, and possibly F are also discussed.

The Lilburn hoard⁶¹ clearly terminates with Class D. The composition of the Ras Shamra and Aleppo hoards is somewhat suspect, hence the question-marks. Dealers may have added a few stray pieces to the hoard: its scientific integrity was of no concern to them. It is clear, nevertheless, that the ratio of E to D changes dramatically in the First Subak hoard⁶², and thereafter. Lilburn, Ras Shamra, and Aleppo may in fact be very close to each other in date. It has been rumoured that Subak 1, Havardjian, Subak 2, and Van Nerom are all parts of the same enormous hoard that was found during the construction of a new airport⁶³. By the time of Class F, deniers had been minted from many hundreds, or even thousands, of dies, i.e. many millions of deniers had been minted. A good half of the Stewart hoard⁶⁴ consists of Classes G-K, alias Allen 1* to 3*. The tabulation makes it reasonably sure, but in light of the possibility of a single airport hoard not perhaps 100 per cent sure, that G-K are later than E-F. The Stewart hoard also shows that G-K are almost certainly earlier than L-N, or at least contemporary. If G-K were struck by Bohemond at a temporary mint while Raymond-Roupen was in control of Antioch, a hoard concealed during the struggle might just, one supposes, be free of Classes L-N. One notes that the al-Mina site-finds included both: there were four specimens of J or K, and four of L-N — an unexpectedly high proportion of the ‘helmet’ coins from the site. Likewise the ANS hoard, published by Roberto Pesant, includes both categories. The suggestion is, in any case, that very few if any ‘helmet’ deniers were minted between c. 1187 and c. 1216, but that the old stock of currency remained in use, no doubt reduced by wastage.

The Antioch site-finds serve to remind us that the ‘helmet’ coins are not plentiful merely because large hoards of them happen to have come to light. The excavations yielded 34 specimens, compared with just two

⁶¹ A. Lilburn, ‘A Parcel Apparently from an Early Hoard of ‘Helmet’ Deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 141 (1981), pp. 163-6.

⁶² D.M. Metcalf, ‘Three Recent Parcels of Helmet Deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch Concealed at about the Time of Saladin’s Conquests’, in *Coinage in the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. P.W. Edbury and D.M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1980), pp. 137-454. Note that these are inventoried under the Van Nerom hoard in Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), p. 315.

⁶³ Cf. C. Van Nerom, ‘Un fragment de trésor: 129 deniers de Bohemond III, prince d’Antioche (1149-1201)’, *Revue belge de numismatique*, 131 (1985), pp. 163-84.

⁶⁴ D.M. Metcalf, ‘The J.R. Stewart Hoard of “Helmet” Coins of Antioch’, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 27/29 (1973/5), pp. 72-80. Many of the coins from the hoard are now in the Ashmolean Museum, and in the catalogue.

'bare-head' deniers. Similarly at al-Mina there were twenty, but no 'bare-head' coins; and in the excavations of 1962-5 there were thirteen, against one 'bare-head' coin. The helmet coins were, admittedly, in use for considerably longer.

It is quite difficult to see how the hypotheses outlined above could be rendered more certain. Adding more hoards to the tabulation is unlikely to yield proof. It may be that archaeological excavation in and around Antioch will recover contexts which will throw light on the historical settings of Classes G-K and L-N. That is where the unresolved problem lies.

6. *The question of crusader gold bezants in Antioch*

Crusader gold bezants are mostly anonymous, reproducing the designs of Islamic dinars, although they are normally of lower weight and fineness than their prototypes. This would not have been a problem to the users, who would have had no difficulty in recognizing the crusader coins for what they were. Very briefly, the two predominant types are modelled on dinars of al-Āmir (AD 1101-30) and al-Mustansir (1036-94) respectively⁶⁵. Some 180 specimens have been chemically analysed, revealing the use of various alloy-standards successively, e.g. around 90 per cent gold in the mid-twelfth century, four-fifths gold until c. 1187, and two-thirds gold thereafter⁶⁶. The al-Āmir type formed the regular issues of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, while the al-Mustansir design was used, equally regularly, at Tripoli. The users would have had no difficulty in telling the two kinds apart⁶⁷. No type of bezant is attributed to Antioch, and probably none was minted there. There are no hoards of bezants found in Antiochene territory, of a distinctive type not seen, or rarely seen, in Tripoli or Jerusalem.

⁶⁵ M.L. Bates and D.M. Metcalf, 'Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions', in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 6, *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. H.W. Hazard and N.P. Zacour (Madison, Wisconsin, 1989), pp. 421-82, at pp. 439-57.

⁶⁶ A.A. Gordus and D.M. Metcalf, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of the Gold Coinages of the Crusader States', in *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 1, ed. D.M. Metcalf and W.A. Oddy (London, 1980), pp. 119-50.

⁶⁷ D.M. Metcalf, 'On the Character of Crusader Gold Bezants as the Currencies of Territorial States', *Yarmouk Numismatics*, 6 (1994), pp. 9-19.

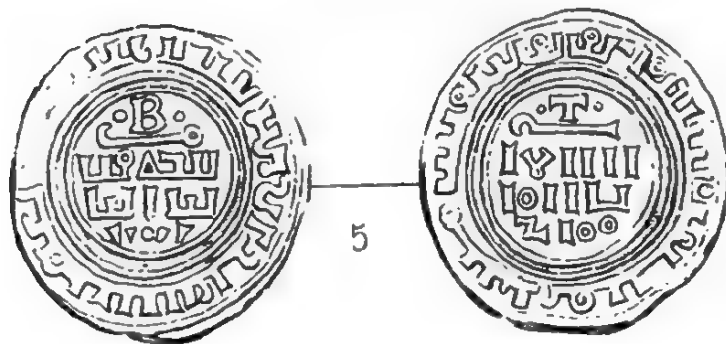


Fig. 10. Gold bezant with the letters B, T inserted into the designs

Long ago, the Count Melchior de Vogüé attributed some varieties of bezants to Antioch, which have a Latin letter B inserted among the Cufic letters on one side, and a Latin letter T similarly on the other side (*Fig. 10*)⁶⁸. He interpreted them as referring to Bohemond I and II during the regency of Tancred. This ingenious suggestion would now be universally dismissed as mistaken: the coins in question are of the late twelfth/thirteenth century. The letter B does indeed stand for Bohemond, but the T is for Tripoli, where the coins were minted.

Schlumberger's belief, also mistaken, was that the crusader gold bezants were minted by the Venetians, who enjoyed the privilege of doing so at Acre, and elsewhere. He drew attention to the chrysobull granted by King Levon II of Cilician Armenia to the Venetians in December 1201, granting them very generous immunities from taxation, with their own quarters in Sis, Mamistra, and Tarsus. The chrysobull (granted very soon after the Armenian royal coinage was instituted) certainly envisaged the minting of bezants. It made provision that 'excepto quod... omnes Venetici qui adduxerint aurum et argentum, et bisancios seu monetas inde fecerint vel operati fuerint in terra mea, hii teneantur persolvere dricturam, sicut persolvunt hii qui bisancios seu monetas operantur in Acconensibus partibus....'⁶⁹. But as there are no bezants which can plausibly be attributed to Armenia, it would seem that this clause of the chrysobull remained a dead letter⁷⁰. The new Armenian royal coinage was exclusively of silver.

⁶⁸ M. de Vogüé, 'Monnaies et sceaux des Croisades', *Mélanges de Numismatique*, 2 (1877), pp. 168-96, at pp.178-80.

⁶⁹ V. Langlois, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie, ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863), at p. 110.

⁷⁰ D.M. Metcalf, 'Crusader Gold Bezants of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Two Additional Sources of Information', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 160 (2000), pp. 203-18, at pp. 210-11.

Bezants of Antioch are mentioned hypothetically in a papal letter written as the outcome of a visit by the papal legate Eudes, bishop of Châteauroux. Eudes arrived in Syria in the entourage of Louis IX, and reported to Pope Innocent IV on the monetary practices of the Franks. He was shocked to discover that the Christians of Acre and Tripoli were striking bezants 'with the name of Mohammed and the date according to the era of his birth'. The pope forbade the practice, under pain of excommunication. He spoke of coins 'quae in Acconensi et Tripolitana civitatibus fiebant', and went on to forbid their minting 'in regno Jerosolymitano, principatu Antiocheno ac comitatu Tripolita'. This text, paradoxically, offers rather good evidence that bezants had not been minted at Antioch within living memory⁷¹.

We can go a step further. There are almost no hoards of bezants of any kind from Antiochene territory (and needless to say, no site-finds), whereas there are numerous hoards, and often quite large hoards, of billon. If there were, say, 80 deniers to a bezant, the value of a hoard of several hundred deniers could equally well have been stored and concealed in the form of a few gold coins. Some of the hoards of deniers were probably concealed in haste, and never recovered, in the face of some threat resulting in personal tragedy, e.g. the defeat at Hattin and its aftermath. It could be argued that if gold had been much in circulation in the principality in 1187, one might have expected to see some gold hoards alongside those of billon. The under-reporting of precious-metal hoards in Syria and Turkey is, of course, a problem for the scholar. Nevertheless, it seems *prima facie* that the Antiochene currency was largely monometallic in character.

The argument is probably flawed. Venetian commercial documents — *colleganzas* — show merchants using bezants in the main trading centres of the Levant, including Antioch⁷². The merchants ventured widely, as chance and fortune drove them. A document of 1165, for example, speaks of setting out from Acre with 300 'bisancios auri saracenatos novos de moneta regis Ierusalem', sailing to Crete, and from there returning to Antioch *or* Acre and there repaying 400 bezants, again *de*

⁷¹ E. Berger, *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, III (1897), no. 6336. Metcalf, 'On the Character of Crusader Gold Bezants' (see n. 67), at p. 11.

⁷² A. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziane nei secoli XI-XIII*, *Regesta chartarum Italiae*, vols 28-9 (1940), no. 167.

moneta regis Ierusalem, or to Alexandria, where the repayment was to be 400 'bisancios auri saracenatos veteres'. The agreement was ambulatory, and the merchants were peripatetic and wide-ranging. (It was Jacques Yvon who recognized from these and similar phrases, many times repeated, that the bezants of Acre were a royal coinage, and who laid to rest Schlumberger's idea of Venetian minting⁷³. The Venetians, in spite of many other privileges, paid seignorage at the royal mint at Acre like anyone else.)

The bezants of Acre were in some sense an international currency among Venetian and other Western merchants. It is clear enough from the *colleganzas* that that was what they preferred to carry with them to Syria. Antioch is rarely mentioned in the *colleganzas*, which commonly speak of Syria: but Syria could, of course, also mean Tripoli (which had its own distinctive bezants). One is reluctant to believe that merchants visiting Port St Symeon and Antioch did not handle bezants there. If no hoards have come down to us, perhaps it is because the merchants were less accident-prone than the general population. There is an analogous problem in Cyprus, where Venetian gold ducats and their Florentine and Genoese equivalents are almost absent from the archaeological record, although it seems clear that merchants were handling them in Famagusta⁷⁴.

Early evidence being at a premium, an episode from 1149 deserves discussion. After the defeat and death of Prince Raymond, the Templars in the Latin Kingdom led a force of 120 knights and 1,000 men to recover the territory of Antioch from the enemy. For providing this assistance (*pro quorum apparatu*), before they crossed the sea to Tyre, the Templars received 7,000 bezants of Acre and 1,000 of Jerusalem⁷⁵. In discussion at the Hernen symposium the question was raised whether this gold would have been acceptable for payments in Antioch in 1149, — and whether there would have been enough billon in circulation to

⁷³ J. Yvon, 'Besants sarracénats du roi de Jérusalem', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* (1961), pp. 81-2. Yvon enumerates the numerous *colleganzas* in Morozzo and Lombardo which use the expression *de regis Ierusalem*.

⁷⁴ D.M. Metcalf, 'A Hoard of Venetian Gold Ducats from the Outskirts of Nicosia', *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (2000), pp. 403-6.

⁷⁵ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, 1097-1291*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893); *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1904), charter 261; Metcalf, 'Crusader Gold Bezants of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem' (see n. 70), pp. 203-18.

change 8,000 bezants. The question is shrewd: it is highly unlikely that there would have been enough deniers of Raymond (i.e. the Antiochene deniers in existence in 1149). If we assume 80 deniers to a bezant, 8,000 bezants would be equivalent to 640,000 deniers. Using the conventional estimate of 10,000 as the average output of a pair of dies, that would be the product of 64 pairs of dies. The answer suggested by the 'hoard from the sea' is that Raymond's coins formed only a small part of the currency which, very probably, included large numbers of coins of Lucca and Valence. In the hoard there were just four coins of Raymond among 257. The circumstances in which the hoard was put together are, of course, unknowable. Much stronger supporting evidence comes, therefore, from the Antioch site-finds. In the excavations of 1932-9 there were two stray finds of 'bare-head' deniers (of Bohemond), but some 36 stray finds of Lucca, Le Puy, and other Western coinages. Similarly, in 1962-5, only one 'bare-head' coin was found, but two of Lucca and four of Valence. Since Western coins are virtually absent from hoards of Bohemond's billon, these stray losses will presumably reflect losses from before 1149. There will have been plenty of them for the money-changers to cope with an influx, even of 8,000 bezants.

There is one major hoard of bezants from Antiochene territory. It was purchased in Beirut in 1957 and was said by the dealer to have been found in Lattaqiyah. There is no reason to doubt the information. It has been dated to shortly after 1187, and is full of numismatic interest — and puzzles⁷⁶. There are 30 bezants of the al-Āmir type, of which most were certainly minted at Acre. Five, however, are from a second postulated mint, perhaps at Tyre, and in any case probably in the northern part of the Latin Kingdom. The remainder of the hoard comprises eleven crusader imitations, otherwise unknown, of a type of Sulayhid dinar from the Yemen with a date equivalent to A.D. 1059. These eleven coins are in fresh condition and are without exception on the crusader alloy-standard of 80 per cent gold. The type has been associated, very tentatively, with Renaud of Châtillon, and with a mint possibly at Krak de Moab, but that is all quite speculative.⁷⁷ The Lattaqiyah hoard appears to post-date by a very short time the debasement to two-thirds gold. There are

⁷⁶ There is a detailed discussion of the character of the hoard in Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades* (see n. 1), at pp. 315-16. All the Lattaqiyah coins have been analyzed.

⁷⁷ Bates and Metcalf, 'Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions' (see n. 65), at pp. 452-3.

just two bezants of the al-Āmir type which are debased, and one of them is a most intriguing coin of the 'Tyre' mint⁷⁸. Now, without wishing to express any dissatisfaction with the interpretation of the hoard sketched above, one has to say that it would only take one more discovery of bezants of the Yemeni type, in Antiochene territory, to re-open the question whether they were not in fact minted in Antioch, and intended to be the distinctive type of that mint, in the same way that the al-Āmir type belonged to Acre and the al-Mustansir type to Tripoli. The famous English law of *habeas corpus* requires that the prisoner must appear bodily in court, so that he can be interrogated. That is, perhaps, the nature of the unresolved problem of the existence or non-existence of Antiochene bezants: the matter is difficult to determine in the absence of positive evidence.

⁷⁸ Its gold contents are an anomalous 58 per cent, in a rather heavy coin, weighing 3.84g. It has been suggested that it is an experimental coin from the earliest stage of the reform, containing the newly-determined quantity of 12 carats of gold, but in the old 20-carat matrix instead of 18.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ANTIOCHENE REGION IN THE CRUSADER PERIOD

TASHA VORDERSTRASSE*

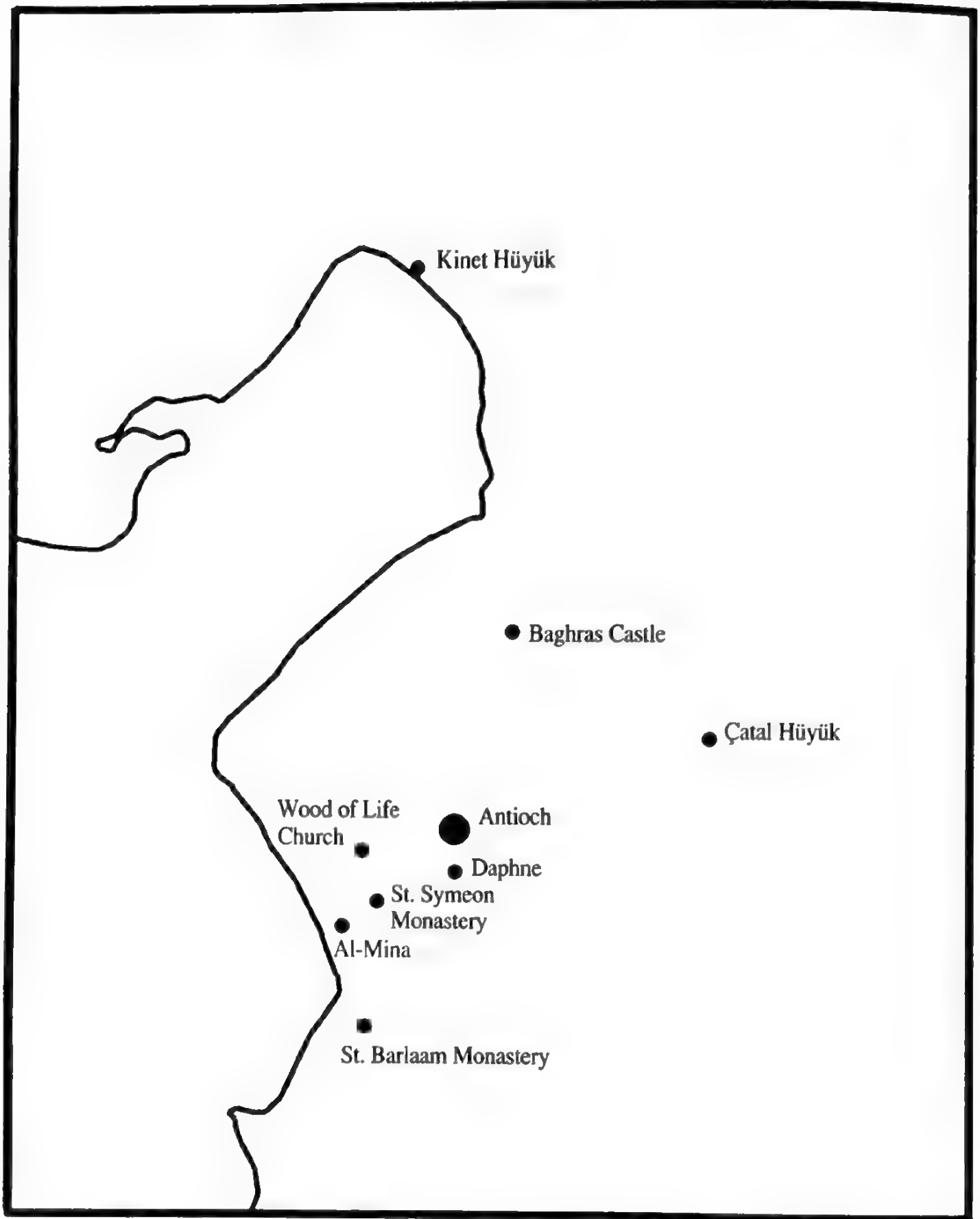
The archaeology of the Antiochene region in the crusader period is largely unknown, despite the fact that there have been several archaeological projects in the area that have discovered crusader remains. This paper will discuss the sites that have been excavated and areas that have been surveyed since work first began in the Antiochene region in the 1920s. This work includes the excavations at Antioch, Çatal Hüyük, Tell al-Judaidah, Tell Tayinat, al-Mina, St Barlaam's Monastery, the Monastery of St Symeon Stylite the Younger, the Wood of Life Church and the Amuq Survey. In addition to this previous work in the area, there are ongoing excavations at the site of Kinet Hüyük, and the ongoing Orontes Survey and Amuq Survey (see *Plate 1*). This paper will not include a discussion of standing monuments such as castles that have not been investigated archaeologically¹, rather it will focus on the materials found in the course of archaeological excavations. Each site, beginning with Antioch, will be discussed in detail and then the categories of materials found (coins, pottery, and glass) will be compared to each other. Each of the different categories of materials provides different insights into the archaeology of the region, and even at those sites of which very little has been published that could be used to help construct a better understanding of crusader settlement and archaeology. As more continues to be published — and hopefully several new studies will appear in the next few years — our understanding of the region will increase and be amplified. Finally, I will conclude with a summary of the evidence and suggestions for future avenues of research.

Antioch

One might expect that a large amount of crusader material would have been recovered at Antioch, but there are only limited signs of crusader

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ See, for example, the architectural studies of Baghras Castle: A. W. Lawrence. 'The Castle of Baghras', in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T.S.R. Boase (Edinburgh and London, 1978), pp. 34-83; R.W. Edwards, 'Bağras and Armenian Cilicia: A Reassessment', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 17 (1983), pp. 415-32.



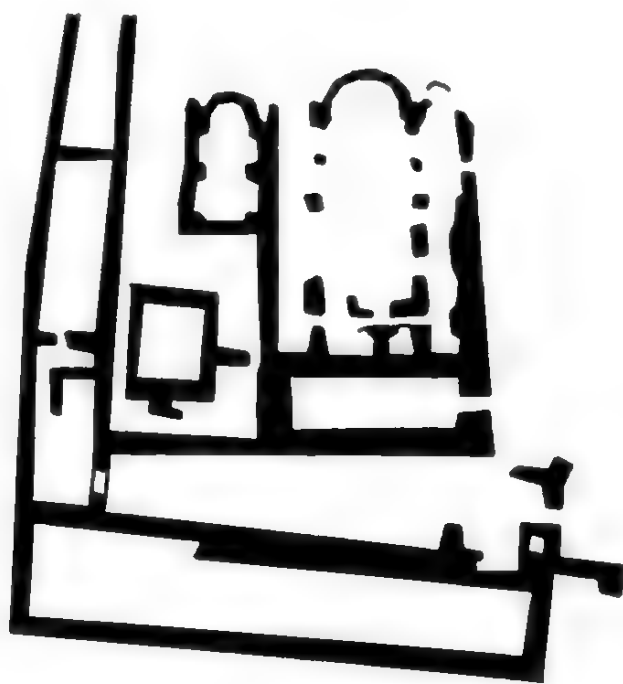
1. Map of the Antiochene region
(after R.C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II)

occupation. Parts of the city of Antioch, its suburbs, and the harbour city of Seleucia-in-Pieria (which was not occupied in the crusader period) were excavated by Princeton University from 1932-1939. The excavators claimed to have found limited remains in the street excavations in the city itself including some kitchens and other structures². The dating of the level containing the remains is not altogether clear, however,

² Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, v, pp. 13-4, 21-6, 90, 123; H. Kennedy, 'Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam and Back Again', in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Rich (New York and London, 1992), p. 193.

because the excavators did not record where and at which levels most of the pottery was found. The majority of the pottery published and identified as being found from these levels is dated to the eleventh century rather than to the crusader period³. The photos of the pottery reveal that the majority of the sherds are unglazed and therefore difficult to date. Although not pictured, Lassus also refers to turquoise glazed pottery⁴, which may be Raqqa ware (see below). Since most of the published pottery from the site is not identified specifically as coming from these street excavations the amount of crusader pottery found therefore remains unclear. The excavators do note the presence of some crusader coins in these levels, but they do not specify which types of crusader coins⁵. There is no information about glass and small finds in the area.

The best-preserved crusader architecture comes from the suburb of Daphne, located to the south of Antioch, where the excavators found the remains of a three-aisled basilica with an attached chapel and other associated monastic buildings (see *Plate 2*). The chapel had been lined with stucco and was probably decorated with wall paintings, of which the remains were found. The excavators dated the church and the other buildings to the Middle Byzantine and crusader periods on the basis of



2. Church of Daphne

(after G. Downey, 'The Church at Daphne', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 1)

³ Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, v, p. 155, pls 8-9, 25-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵ See Lassus, *ibid.*, p. 7, who mentions 'monnaies et tessons du X^e-XII^e siècles, byzantins et croisés...' and p. 90, where he mentions that Frankish money was found. On p. 70 he does identify and provide excavation numbers of coins found under a pavement, but these date to the Seleucid and Roman periods. On p. 10 Lassus also notes that there were problems in the recording of levels of excavations.

numismatic and architectural evidence. Some of the masonry apparently had parallels with French masonry at the town of Angers that dated from the ninth-twelfth centuries. They suggested that the church had been built not by French masons, but by local workers following the instructions of the crusaders⁶. As no photos of the masonry were published, it is not possible to check their conclusions or dates. Additionally, there is no published evidence that indicates that any crusader pottery was discovered, but the excavators noted that some crusader coins were found. The excavators suggested that the church was either a monastery or the local church for the small settlement of Daphne⁷.

In his study of Georgian manuscripts, Djobadze looked at the dating of the church of Daphne. He suggests that the church was built in the Middle Byzantine period because this was a period that witnessed a rise of monasticism, the building of new churches, and the repair of older ones. He argued that it was unlikely that the church was built in the crusader period because there is no evidence to suggest that new churches were being built and that the number of monks did not increase⁸.

The medieval literary evidence for monasteries at the site of Daphne is limited. Only one person has attempted to link a monastery mentioned in the medieval manuscripts with the archaeological remains. Djobadze suggested that the monastery may have been Kastana (a corruption of the name Castalia, which was one of the springs of Daphne), mentioned in the manuscript of Iovane Mt'avaraisdze. Another possibility is the monastery of Tskarotha. In a colophon to a manuscript written there, the writer mentions that the monastery is near springs⁹. There is no evidence, however, for any of these sites.

In addition to these two possibilities, there are other possible names for the monastery. In his examination of Syriac Melkite colophons of manuscripts, Brock mentioned the colophon of British Library Or. 8607 ff. 28-30, which states that the manuscript was written in the Monastery of Mar Georgios, 'great among the martyrs known as Beth Mayya [Arabic Beit el-Ma], in Daphne'¹⁰. Nasrallah suggested that the

⁶ G. Downey, 'The Church at Daphne', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 1, *The Excavations of 1932*, ed. G.W. Elderkin (Princeton, 1934), pp. 107-13, at 107-10, 113.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ W. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO 372, Subsidia 48 (Leuven, 1976), p. 102, no. 70.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 102, nos 70, 105.

¹⁰ S. Brock, 'Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch', in *Lingua Restituta Orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, ed. R. Schulz and M. Görg, Ägypten und Altes Testament, 20 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 60-2, 66. A Syriac transcription and Latin translation are also in I.E. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, III (In Monte Libano, 1908), pp. 87-8.

Monastery of the Theotokos of Dafnūna located on the Black Mountain (mentioned in the *Life of the Patriarch Christopher*¹¹, Sinaiticus arab. 417¹², and several Melkite liturgical books¹³) is actually the site of Daphne, based on the similarity between the two names¹⁴. The site of Daphne is not located in the Black Mountain, however, which were located north of the Orontes River. In addition, the linguistic similarities are not enough to prove that Daphne and Dafnūna are the same site. The evidence suggests that only one of these monasteries can be firmly located in Daphne, that of Mar Georgios. It is unclear, however, if the monastery found by the excavators is the same one mentioned in the Middle Byzantine colophon. It is also unclear what other settlement there was at Daphne in this period, although the site still supplied the city of Antioch with water¹⁵. The other possibility is that this was a local church whose name has not been recorded.

Amuq Plain

The Amuq Plain located to the east of Antioch and the north of the Orontes River, was the site of work in the 1930s by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. A survey of the Amuq Plain was conducted by R. Braidwood, while C. MacEwan excavated three mounds on the plain: Çatal Hüyük, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Tayinat. Both the survey and the excavations were primarily concerned with prehistoric remains and settlement and this is reflected in their publication of the later material. Both Braidwood and MacEwan combined all of the materials from 600-1800 A.D. into a single phase (Braidwood's Phase One and Haines' Phase U) and do not specify crusader settlement and materials¹⁶. The

¹¹ 'Ibrahim ibn Yuhanna al-Antākī, Vie du patriarche melkite d'Antioche Christophore', trans. and ed. H. Zayat, *Proche Orient chrétien*, 2 (Jerusalem, 1952), pp. 11-38, 333-66; on p. 22. Zayat refers to the site as Daqnuna rather than Dafnuna. Nasrallah suggests that the copyist made an error by putting a double point on the ف making it a ق. See J. Nasrallah. 'Deux auteurs melchites inconnus du X^e siècle', *Or. Chr.*, 63 (1979), pp. 82-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁵ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, IV, 10, pp. 94-7; Kennedy, 'Antioch' (see n. 2), pp. 194-5.

¹⁶ R.J. Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch: An Archaeological Survey*, Oriental Institute Publications, 48 (Chicago, 1937); R.C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, II, The Structural Remains of the Later Phases: Chatal Hüyük, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Ta'yinat*, Oriental Institute Publications, 95 (Chicago, 1971).



3. Map of Çatal Hüyük (after Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II)

pottery, glass, and other finds from the sites and the survey were not published. Only the architecture has been published for these sites, and the location of the other materials, except for the coins¹⁷, remains largely unknown. The village site of Çatal Hüyük, which might date partially to the crusader period, is located on the spur of the mound, that only consists of houses, some of which have stables (see *Plate 3*)¹⁸. The current Amuq Survey being conducted by the University of Chicago will hopefully provide a corrective to the older material, in addition to broadening the scope of the original 1930s survey by conducting work beyond the plain in areas including the Amanus Mountains and at Baghras Castle¹⁹.

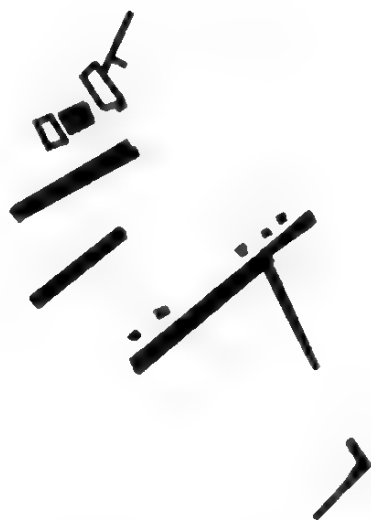
¹⁷ I will publish the coins in a catalogue and circulation study, *Coins from the Plain of Antioch*.

¹⁸ Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II (see n. 16), pp. 10-2.

¹⁹ T.J. Wilkinson, 'Amuq Interim Report 1995/6', *AST*, 14 (1996), pp. 416-31; K.A. Yener and T.J. Wilkinson, 'Chicago Oriental Institute Amik Ovası Bölge Projeleri', *AST*, 14 (1996), pp. 413-5; K.A. Yener, T.J. Wilkinson a.o., 'The Oriental Institute Amuq Valley Projects, 1995', *Anatolica*, 22 (1996), pp. 49-84; T.P. Harrison, 'The 1998 Amuq Regional Project Survey', *AST*, 17 (1999), pp. 127-32; T.P. Harrison and S. Batruk, 'The 1999 Amuq Valley Regional Project Survey', *AST*, 18 (2000), pp. 181-6; K.A. Yener, C. Edens a.o., 'The Amuq Valley Regional Project, 1995-1998', *AJA*, 104 (2000), pp. 163-220; K.A. Yener, T. Harrison and H. Pamir, 'Yılı Hatay Aççana, Tayinat Höyüklerine Samandağı Yüzey Araştırmaları', *AST*, 19 (2001), pp. 289-302. See especially J. Verstraete and T.J. Wilkinson, 'The Amuq Regional Archaeological Survey', *AJA*, 104 (2000), pp. 190-1, for a brief discussion of the Islamic period settlement.

Al-Mina and the Orontes Plain

The Orontes Plain located to the west of Antioch was the site of the harbour city of Seleucia-in-Pieria, which as previously mentioned, was not occupied in the crusader period. In 1936 and 1937, Sir Leonard Woolley excavated the site of al-Mina, on the north side of the Orontes River, located to the south of Seleucia-in-Pieria. The site of al-Mina was a port in the crusader period, although the architectural remains are scanty. A modern village has been built on part of the site and the villagers have extensively ploughed the mound, destroying much of the upper layers (see *Plate 4*)²⁰. Despite this lack of architecture, a considerable amount of material was recovered from the site in the excavation. Arthur Lane studied and partially published the medieval pottery and glass²¹, but a large amount remained unstudied and not all of the coins had been published²². Additionally, not all of the materials from the excavation were retained. The excavators kept the decorated or glazed pieces of pottery and glass, and discarded the vast bulk of the undecorated coarse wares.



4. Crusader level al-Mina

(after Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria', see n. 20)

²⁰ A. Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria', *Archaeologia*, 87 (1938), p. 25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-78.

²² D. Allen, 'Coins of Antioch, etc. from al-Mina', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, 17 (1937), pp. 200-10; E.S.G. Robinson, 'Coins from the excavations at al-Mina (1936)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, 17 (1937), pp. 182-96. This published some but not all of the coins. A complete catalogue of the materials found will appear in the CD-ROM of my dissertation: T. Vorderstrasse, *A Port of Antioch under Byzantium, Islam, and the Crusades: Acculturation and Differentiation at al-Mina, A.D. 350-1268* (University of Chicago, 2004).

In addition to these older excavations, Mustafa Kemal University in Antakya began surveying the Orontes Valley and its delta in 1999. The survey is still ongoing and has re-examined the sites of al-Mina and Seleucia-in-Pieria, and has identified a large number of new sites. This data, combined with the Amuq Survey, will significantly increase our understanding of crusader occupation in the principality of Antioch²³.

Monasteries and Churches in the Region to the West of Antioch

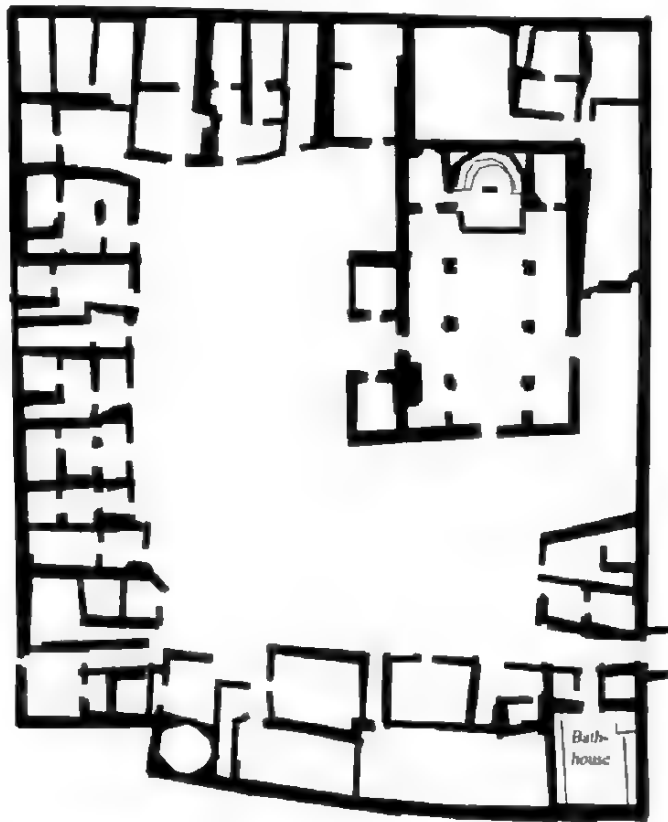
Several monasteries and churches have been investigated in the region to the west of Antioch, in addition to the site of al-Mina and the Orontes Survey. The site of St Barlaam's Monastery²⁴ (see *Plate 5*) is located on the southern side of the Orontes River on Mount Kasius. Schaeffer initially (and briefly) investigated the site in the 1930s, while he was excavating the site of Ugarit. Schaeffer did some clearance in preparation for an excavation to find a Greco-Roman temple that he believed lay under it, but this excavation never took place. He also made a sounding on the mountain where he found some coins (he did not mention what type) and bronze statues²⁵. Djobadze began excavating the monastery site in the 1960s: the principal features of the site were the three-nave basilica church and the accompanying monastery buildings. The monastic buildings include monks' cells, a refectory/dining room, and a small wash-house²⁶. Djobadze dated the medieval phase of the monastery to the

²³ K.A. Yener, C. Edens a.o., 'Tell Kurdu Excavations 1999', *Anatolica*, 26 (2000), p. 32; Yener, Harrison and Pamir, 'Yılı Hatay Aççana' (see n. 19), pp. 289-302; H. Pamir and S. Nishiyama, 'The Orontes Delta Survey: An Archaeological Investigation of Ancient Trade Stations/Settlements', *Ancient West and East*, 1.2 (2002), pp. 294-314.

²⁴ It should be noted that it is very likely that this monastery complex should be identified with St Barlaam's Monastery based upon details in the hagiography of St Barlaam, a bread stamp where the name St Barlaam has been reconstructed, and a tile with the name of Barlaam inscribed on it. There is no epigraphic evidence from the monastery that actually names the building as St Barlaam's Monastery, however. See Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 5-6; H. Seyrig, 'Inscriptions. A. Greek and Latin', in Djobadze, *ibid.*, p. 203; W. Djobadze, 'Georgians in Antioch on-the-Orontes and the Monastery of St Barlaam', in *Die Christianisierung des Kaukasus: Referate des internationalen Symposions (Wien, 9-12 Dezember 1999)*, ed. W. Seibt (Wien, 2002), pp. 39-40.

²⁵ C.F.A. Schaeffer, 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit — Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937): Rapport sommaire', *Syria*, 19 (1938), pp. 325, 327.

²⁶ For more elaborate bathhouses used in towns, castles, and monasteries in the medieval period see A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *La Fortezza Saracena del Monte Tabor (AH. 609-615: AD. 1212-1218)*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor, 18 (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 58-66; B. de Vries, 'The Islamic Bath of Tell Hesbân', in *The*



5. St Barlaam Monastery (after Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*)



6. Map of the area of St Stylite the Younger Monastery (after Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*)

Middle Byzantine period, and while he reported some further building activity under the crusaders, he considered the later building as minor²⁷. All of the glazed pottery (which can be dated with more certainty than the unglazed forms) and most of the objects found in the monastery dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Although some of the inscriptions dated to the Middle Byzantine period²⁸, the bulk of the evidence suggests that the primary occupation of the monastery actually dated to the crusader, rather than to the Middle Byzantine period as Djobadze suggests.

Located to the north of Mount Kasius and the Orontes River, the Monastery of St Symeon Stylite the Younger and the St John's Monastery on the Wondrous Mountain (see *Plate 6-7*) were investigated in the 1930s and the 1960s. Mécérian's work in the 1930s on the Monastery of St Symeon Stylite the Younger (see *Plate 8*) was never published except in the form of short communications, with the exception of the inscriptions.²⁹ Subsequently, Darrouzès³⁰, Djobadze³¹, and

Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies Presented to Siegfried H. Horn, ed. L.T. Geraty and L.G. Herr (Berrien Springs, M.I., 1986), pp. 223, 225, 227; J. Moore, *Tille Höyük, I, The Medieval Period*, British Institute at Ankara Archaeological Monograph, 14 (Ankara, 1993), p. 35; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 77; idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 22, 102, 117; C.N. Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Athlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qalbat ar-Rabad ('Ajlun): Three Middle Eastern Castles from the Time of the Crusades*, ed. D. Pringle (Ashgate, 1997), p. 88; D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 22, 117. For baths and bathing in general see H. Grotzfeld, *Das Bad im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter: Eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 52-66; A. Lumpe, 'Zur Kulturgeschichte des Bades in der byzantinischen Ära', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 6 (1979), pp. 151-66; A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich, 1982); P. Magdalino, 'Church, Bath and *Diakonia* in Medieval Constantinople', in *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham, 1986), pp. 167, 169.

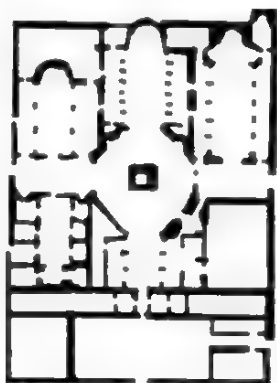
²⁷ Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 5-6, 10, 12, 25-6, 50, 52-3; Seyrig, 'Inscriptions. A. Greek and Latin' (see n. 24), p. 203; Djobadze, 'Georgians in Antioch' (see n. 24), pp. 39-40, 43, 53.

²⁸ W. Djobadze, 'Medieval Inscriptions in the Vicinity of Antioch on-the-Orontes', *Or. Chr.*, 49 (1965), pp. 117, 125, 127; idem, 'Medieval Bread Stamps from Antioch and Georgia', *Or. Chr.*, 63 (1979), pp. 163, 175; idem, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 10, 52-4; idem, 'Georgians in Antioch' (see n. 24), pp. 47, 49-50.

²⁹ G. Millet, 'La mission archéologique du P. Mécérian dans l'Antiochène', *CRAIBL* (1933), pp. 343-8; P. Mécérian, 'Une mission archéologique dans l'Antiochène: Rapport sur la deuxième campagne des fouilles 1933', *CRAIBL* (1934), pp. 144-9; P. Monceaux and R. Dussaud, 'Séances du 17 Mai', *CRAIBL* (1935), pp. 189-97; R.P.J. Mécérian, 'Monastère de Saint-Siméon-Stylite-le-Jeune: Exposé des fouilles', *CRAIBL* (1948), pp. 323-8.

³⁰ J. Darrouzès, 'Petites corrections', *Revue des études byzantines*, 22 (1964), p. 248.

³¹ W. Djobadze, 'Review of Jean Mécérian, *Expédition archéologique dans l'Antiochène occidentale*', *Or. Chr.*, 51 (1967), pp. 208-9.



7. Monastery of St Symeon Stylite the Younger
(after Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*)

Rey-Coquais³² have all published corrections to his translation of the inscriptions. Djobadze noted the presence of 500 silver coins (probably a hoard) found by Mécérian and mentioned in the notes, but this material has not been located³³. In the 1960s, Djobadze began to excavate the site of the monastery and also made a sounding at the nearby St John's Monastery. Djobadze dated most of the structure of the Monastery of St Symeon Stylite to the fifth/sixth centuries, with some minor repairs conducted in the eleventh/twelfth centuries. Apart from the architecture and sculpture at the site, Djobadze reported only a small amount of pottery, coins, and Greek and Georgian inscriptions. Textual evidence argues that the monastery was still flourishing in 1222³⁴. At the St John's Monastery, Djobadze found the remains of a fifth/sixth-century church, but no later architecture³⁵.

The Black Mountain to the north of the Orontes River were an area of considerable monastic activity and one site that has been investigated archaeologically is the Church of the Wood of Life (see *Plate 8*). Mécérian excavated the church, but he only published architecture and sculpture from the church (which he calls St Thomas's Church)³⁶. Djobadze studied

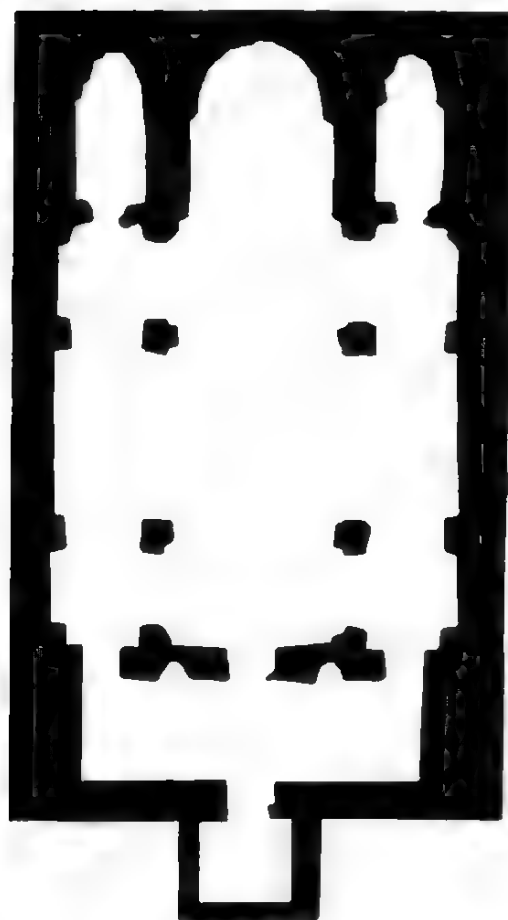
³² J.-P. Rey-Coquais, 'Inscriptions du Mont Admirable', *MUSJ*, 52 (1991-1992), p. 202.

³³ Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 59, no. 210. Djobadze, who had access to Mécérian's unpublished notes, wrote that Mécérian had planned to send the coins to Paris, but never did. The location of these coins is currently unknown.

³⁴ Djobadze, 'Medieval Inscriptions' (see n. 28), pp. 117, 125, 127; Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 59, 97, 172, 204-7. The Greek inscription is dated to the crusader period on the basis of the shield (Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie, III, no. 1109).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁶ See n. 29; and P. Mécérian, *Expédition archéologique dans l'Antiochène occidentale* (Beirut, 1965), p. 74, pl. 108 (plan of church). See Djobadze, 'Review of Jean Mécérian' (see n. 31), pp. 200-4, 209. Djobadze is particularly critical of the inaccuracies in the publication.



8. Church of Wood of Life (after Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*)

the site again in the 1960s and determined that the church was built in the eleventh century. The church may have been occupied into the crusader period, as suggested by a Greek inscription, although the length of this occupation is not entirely clear. Djobadze speculates that the church was destroyed in an earthquake in the twelfth century, but was not able to provide proof. He did not find a large number of materials in the course of excavations, but parallels with Georgian churches and Georgian mason marks argue that it was constructed by both Georgian and Syrian workers³⁷. In his study of Georgian manuscripts, Djobadze compares the church at Daphne to the Wood of Life Church and points out that the two closely resemble each other³⁸.

Kinet Hüyük

The site of Kinet Hüyük is located north of the Black Mountain on the shore of the Mediterranean, in its northeast corner, north of Iskenderun,

³⁷ Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 126, 144, 146; Seyrig, 'Inscriptions. A. Greek and Latin' (see n. 24), p. 205.

³⁸ Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries* (see n. 8), pp. 102, no. 70. Interestingly, Djobadze does not discuss the comparison in his archaeological and architectural study of the church, where he compares the Wood of Life Church to Georgian monasteries.

on the location of important trade routes. It has been the site of ongoing excavations of Bilkent University, Ankara, since 1992. The site has been studied primarily for its remains dating to the Hellenistic period and earlier, but the site was also occupied in the late twelfth to early fourteenth centuries. The published remains of the medieval settlement are scanty³⁹, but appear to be part of a mound top fortified settlement, perhaps similar in form to Çatal Hüyük. The materials from the site are only just beginning to be published, however.

Coins

The crusader conquest of the Antiochene region brought a new phase of coinage for the population of the Antiochene region. The early crusader coins used in the principality at Antioch comprised either of silver coins imported from Europe (primarily from the cities of Lucca and Valence, although some of these may be local imitations) or bronze coins that imitated Middle Byzantine types with both Greek and Latin inscriptions⁴⁰. After forty years of issuing coins that showed Byzantine influences, the principality began to issue new types of coins. They minted primarily silver billon coinage that depicted the ruler in chain armour and flanked by a crescent and star on the obverse and a reverse with a cross. These coin types proved to be very popular as they continued through the reign of Bohemond VI⁴¹.

Coins of the crusader period have been found at the majority of excavated sites in the Antiochene region⁴², including those published

³⁹ Redford, Ikram a.o., 'Excavations at Medieval Kinet', pp. 59-60, 66-7, figs 3-5.

⁴⁰ D.M. Metcalf, 'Billon coinage of the Crusading Principality of Antioch', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 9 (1969), pp. 247-67; R. Pesant, 'The Effigy on the Coins of Tancred of Antioch', *Numismatic Circular*, 89 (1981), p. 235; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (London, 1983), pp. 7-8; J. Porteous, 'Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions', in *Crusades*, VI, ed. Setton, pp. 363, 366; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (London, 1995²), pp. 22-30, 117-39, 143-7; idem, 'Describe the Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand (London, 1997), pp. 189, 192; idem, 'Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin Influences in the Iconography of Crusader Coins and Seals', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, II, pp. 163-75, esp. p. 170. See also the article by D.M. Metcalf in this volume.

⁴¹ Idem, 'Billon coinage' (see n. 40), pp. 247-67; idem, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (1995²) (see n. 40), pp. 32, 40-1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 355-7.

from the excavations at Antioch/Daphne⁴³, al-Mina⁴⁴, and St Barlaam's Monastery⁴⁵. There are also unpublished coins found at Tell Tayinat, Tell al-Judaidah, Çatal Hüyük, and Kinet Hüyük. The coins found in the region include both bronze and silver coins and provide an idea of the types of coins used by the population in the region. Not surprisingly, as the capital of the principality, the site of Antioch, yielded the largest number of crusader coins from the region, while other sites yielded far fewer coins. The majority of the coins found were issued in the principality of Antioch, although some other crusader, Islamic, and Cilician Armenian coins have also been found. Not surprisingly, Antioch had a higher proportion of imported coins than the smaller sites because it was the focus of the commercial activity of the principality.

The number of coins had decreased considerably from the Middle Byzantine period, suggesting that Middle Byzantine folles may have continued to circulate in the Antiochene region as they did elsewhere in the Near East⁴⁶. Both al-Mina and St Barlaam have a relatively high number of billion Antioch deniers compared to the copper coins and a similar percentage of copper fractions, while at Antioch and Çatal Hüyük, the number of copper coins was higher than the billion deniers. While the number of crusader coins increased in the later part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at Antioch, al-Mina, and St Barlaam, it decreased at the sites in the Amuq Plain. This shows that there is a difference between sites in the region rather than a uniformity overall. There are, however, certain similarities. At all of the sites where early crusader bronze coins have been found, the amount of bronze coins of Tancred considerably outnumber the coins of Roger, even though the rulers reigned for approximately the same amount of time.

⁴³ The excavators did not differentiate between coins found at Antioch and those found at Daphne. Therefore, some of the coins found may be those discovered at the monastery site of Daphne rather than in the excavations in the city itself.

⁴⁴ Allen, 'Coins of Antioch' and Robinson, 'Coins' (see n. 22).

⁴⁵ N. Lowick, 'Islamic coins', in Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, p. 219; M. Metcalf, 'Crusader Coins', in Djobadze, *ibid.*, pp. 220-2.

⁴⁶ R. Thomsen, 'Monnaies non islamiques provenant de trouvailles isolées', in *Hama: Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938*, iv.3, *Les petits objets médiévaux sauf les verreries et poteries*, ed. G. Ploug, E. Oldenburg a.o. (Copenhagen, 1969), pp. 165, 170; N. Lowick, S. Bendall and P.D. Whitting, *The 'Mardin' Hoard: Islamic Countermarks on Byzantine Folles* (Hampshire, 1977), pp. 11, 17, 50.

Pottery

Both coarse wares and glazed wares have been found in the Antiochene region dating to the crusader period, but this presentation will focus on the glazed decorated pottery, because only a small amount of coarse wares or monochrome glazed wares have been published. The published crusader period pottery from the Antiochene region primarily dates from the end of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. This may suggest that earlier Islamic splashed ware sgraffiato types may have continued to be used in the region in the early crusader period. The amount of pottery found in the course of excavations is also small: approximately 150 sherds from Antioch and 35 sherds from St Barlaam. The site of al-Mina is an exception to this with about 1000 crusader sherds, easily dwarfing all the other sites.

The best known locally produced Antiochene pottery is Port St Symeon ware. This pottery has a white slip, with clear, light yellow or light green glaze, with incised decoration that is often accentuated with green or yellow-brown. The most common form is a hemispherical vessel with ledge rim and low ring base. The decorations of Port St Symeon ware range from floral or geometric motifs, to people or animals⁴⁷. Port St Symeon ware is the dominant glazed ware at the excavations at al-Mina, where it constitutes about 80% of all the pottery retained by the excavation, totalling nearly 800 sherds. This is similar to the St Barlaam's Monastery where almost 86% of the glazed pottery from the site was Port St Symeon ware, but the amount of pottery is much smaller. The Port St Symeon ware found at al-Mina and at St Barlaam's Monastery, the Monastery of St Symeon Stylite the Younger (where only a few pieces were recovered), and St John's Monastery (where only one piece was found) are closely related and some appear to have been made at the same workshops⁴⁸.

At Antioch, however, Port St Symeon ware accounts for only 24% of the pottery found. There could be several reasons for this. First, it is clear from the publication that the excavators did not publish all the pottery, and second, the pottery report makes it clear that a very small amount of medieval pottery was found because archeologists were not digging in the medieval city. Waagé, who studied the pottery, appeared to be somewhat confused about this issue, however. He grouped Byzantine imports

⁴⁷ Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria' (see n. 20), pp. 45-53.

⁴⁸ Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 189-91.

(which he believed were local) and some of the Port St Symeon ware together, stating that they constituted the largest group of pottery found at the site. This may indicate that Port St Symeon ware was more common than the published report suggests. At Kinet Hüyük, published Port St Symeon ware accounts for only 44% of glazed pottery. The full publication of the pottery may change this picture⁴⁹.

In addition to the locally produced pottery, imports have also been found in the region. Byzantine imported sgraffiato pottery⁵⁰ found includes Fine Sgraffiato Ware (mid-late twelfth-century pottery characterized by very thin incised decoration of geometric, animal or pseudo-Kufic designs), Aegean ware (thirteenth-century pottery with broader incised lines), and Zeuxippus ware (thirteenth/fourteenth-century pottery that is the most thinly potted and highly fired of all pottery of this period with broad and narrow incised decoration under yellow or pale green shiny glaze)⁵¹. At al-Mina, Byzantine pottery accounted for only 4% of the total and none was found in Djobadze's excavations. It is far more common at Antioch, however, where it constitutes about 43% of all pottery published, although Waagé thought about half of that was local.

In addition to pottery from the Byzantine Empire, the inhabitants of the Antiochene region also used pottery that had been produced under the Muslims, namely Raqqa frit ware produced at Raqqa and other sites in Syria. The frit ware can be divided into six groups, but the one that concerns us here is the turquoise blue glaze ware, sometimes with black underglaze painted decoration. The pottery, if decorated, is often decorated with animal or vegetal motifs⁵². At al-Mina, it constitutes the

⁴⁹ Redford, Ikram a.o., 'Excavations at Medieval Kinet', pp. 69-71.

⁵⁰ Some of the types characterized as 'Byzantine' were actually made in Cyprus.

⁵¹ D. Talbot Rice, 'The Pottery of Byzantium and the Islamic World', in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), p. 194; A.H.S. Megaw, 'Zeuxippus Ware', *ABSA*, 63 (1968), pp. 69-70, 75; A.H.S. Megaw and R.E. Johns, 'Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to the Problems of Origin and Distribution', *ABSA*, 78 (1983), p. 263; A.H.S. Megaw, 'Zeuxippus Ware Again', in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine: Actes du colloque organisé par l'école française d'Athènes et l'Université de Strasbourg*, II, ed. V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, supplément 18 (Paris, 1989), pp. 259-63; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Art of Sgraffiato* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 18-19, 21.

⁵² V. Porter, *Medieval Syrian Pottery (Raqqa Ware)* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 7-13, 19, 20-3, 40-1; R.B. Mason, 'Medieval Syrian Lustre-Painted and Associated Wares', *Levant*, 29 (1997), p. 194; S.N. Redford and M.J. Blackman, 'Luster and Fritware Production and Distribution in Medieval Syria', *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 24 (1997), pp. 233, 236, 245.

highest percentage of any imported pottery at the site (7.9%) and it is also found in small numbers at Antioch (17%).

The rarest type of glaze pottery in the Antiochene region is Italian Proto-maiolica. This tin-glazed pottery has overglazed painted decoration. Bowls commonly include decoration in manganese, blue, and yellow over white ground. There is a wide range of designs including grid patterns, floral motifs etc⁵³. The pottery is found only at al-Mina, where it constitutes 3% of the total and Kinet Hüyük, where the published material is 5%⁵⁴. Again, full publication of the pottery may change this picture. The rarity of this pottery suggests that it was an expensive luxury item, but it is surprising that none of this pottery was found in the excavations of Antioch. One would have expected that it would have been found there because it was the major commercial centre of the region.

Glass

The amount of glass found in the archaeological contexts is unfortunately more limited than the pottery. Djobadze published some glass that he found at St Barlaam's Monastery⁵⁵, but the material is difficult to date. The site of al-Mina is the only site in the Antiochene region where glass has been published in detail. The majority of the glass found at al-Mina is gilded and enameled glass, which became popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in both Islamic and crusader states, and was mostly produced throughout Syria and Egypt. The most common form of gilded and enameled glass found at archaeological sites was the cylindrical beaker, which is also the most common form at al-Mina. The exterior surface of the glass was usually decorated with Arabic inscriptions, floral, figural, vegetal, or animal motifs⁵⁶.

⁵³ D. Whitehouse, 'Proto-Maiolica', *Faenza*, 66 (1980), pp. 77-8.

⁵⁴ Redford, Ikram a.o., 'Excavations at Medieval Kinet', p. 70.

⁵⁵ Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations*, p. 199.

⁵⁶ Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina' (see n. 20), pp. 73-4; J. Kröger, 'Painting on Glass before the Mamluk Period', in *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward (London, 1998), pp. 8, 10-1; O. Watson, 'Pottery and Glass: Lustre and Enamel', in *ibid*, ed. Ward, p. 17; S. Carboni, *Glass from Islamic Lands: The Al-Sabah Collection Kuwait National Museum* (New York, 2001), pp. 323-4, 328-9, 341-2, 344, 347.

Conclusion

The evidence from the excavations in the Antiochene region is still incomplete, but it does give us an understanding of what was happening in the region. Architectural remains are limited except for those from the monasteries and churches west of Antioch, but the evidence from the pottery and coins is somewhat more conclusive. The number of coins may have dropped from the previous period, but this may be due in part to the fact that Byzantine coins continued to circulate in the crusader period. The pottery points to trade with the Islamic and Byzantine Empires, as well as the Italian city-states, in addition to flourishing local pottery production centres. The evidence from the glass, however, remains limited. As the survey materials from both the Amuq and Orontes Surveys continue to be studied, and more material from Kinet Hüyük is published, it will be possible to make more detailed statements about the nature of crusader settlement in the Antiochene region.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- *ABSA* = *Annual, British School of Athens*.
- *AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- *AST* = *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*.
- *CRAIBL* = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
- Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations* = W. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart, 1986).
- Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, v = J. Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, v, *Les portiques d'Antioche* (Princeton, 1972).
- *MUSJ* = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*.
- Redford, Ikram a.o., 'Excavations at Medieval Kinet' = S. Redford, S. Ikram a.o., 'Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report', *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 38 (2001), pp. 58-138.

ANTIOCH AND THE CRUSADERS IN WESTERN ART

MARTINE MEUWESE

The crusading literature of the thirteenth century devoted a prominent place to the confrontation between the knight from the West and the Saracen. Representations of the siege of Antioch during the First Crusade offered a good opportunity for such visual encounters between Western and Eastern knights. How has the siege of Antioch been represented in Western European medieval art, and was there a special reason behind these Antioch illustrations?¹

The Siege of Antioch in French Manuscripts

According to tradition Richard the Pilgrim, an eye-witness to the siege of Antioch, wrote *La chanson d'Antioche* soon after the First Crusade. His original text has not survived. The extant version is a late twelfth-century redaction by Graindor de Douai, who linked *La chanson d'Antioche* to the anonymous *La chanson de Jérusalem* and a third poem, perhaps his own, called *Les chétifs*, to form the basic crusade cycle in the second half of the twelfth century². The principal hero of this Old French crusade cycle is Godfrey of Bouillon³. Subsequent poems were added to the cycle at a later date, which develop Godfrey's ancestral background and provide an ultimate confrontation between the crusading armies and Saladin. Most manuscripts of this crusade cycle were produced in periods of great crusading activity. The earliest extant manuscripts of this First Crusade cycle, both illustrated and unillustrated, date from the second half of the thirteenth century. None of them

¹ I am grateful to Dr Krijnie Ciggaar, Dr Mat Immerzeel, Dr Sophie Oosterwijk, and Dr Paul Binski for their valuable suggestions and useful comments.

² *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols (Paris, 1977). The existence of Richard the Pilgrim and the identity of Graindor have both been challenged, but that discussion is irrelevant to this study.

³ See S.B. Edgington, 'Romance and Reality in the Sources for the Sieges of Antioch, 1097-1098', in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. C. Dendrinos a.o. (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 33-46.

have been made in Acre. The majority of manuscripts have been localized in Picardy and the general north-eastern part of France⁴.

Archbishop William of Tyre's chronicle *Histoire d'Outremer* is generally considered as a historiographical text on the First Crusade⁵. The oldest manuscripts of this work were produced at Acre in the thirteenth century⁶. The conquest of Antioch by the crusaders has, for instance, been depicted in two *Histoire d'Outremer* manuscripts illuminated at Acre in 1286-7⁷. The city of Antioch is schematically represented by a city-wall with one or more entrance gates, and a single donjon inside the city. As is common for thirteenth-century illustrations, the architecture is rendered in bright fanciful colours that have nothing to do with historical reality. The crusaders can be identified by their chain armour and their shields showing a cross, whereas the Saracens may be recognised by their different, sometimes turban-like, headgear.

William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer* was particularly popular in northern France during the latter part of the thirteenth century. Historiated initials in a manuscript illustrated in Paris around 1300 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 142) represent among others the siege of Antioch during the First Crusade (*Fig. 1*)⁸. No visual difference is made here between the crusaders and the Saracens, as both are shown as Western knights. In the first Antioch illustration the armies prepare for battle: the besieged knight blowing a horn shows that the Turks are ready for action, and the same is true for the Christian besiegers, who have installed a trebuchet.

The capture of Antioch during the First Crusade is not in the first place due to heroic exploits of the crusaders, since it was rather betrayal. The historian Steven Runciman summarizes the historical events as follows. Bohemond of Taranto established a connection with a captain inside the city of Antioch, whose name was Firouz. This man, apparently an Armenian converted to Islam, agreed with Bohemond to sell the

⁴ K. Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 1 (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 254-7.

⁵ The *Histoire d'Outremer* is a translation in the vernacular of William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, and William of Tyre, *Continuation*.

⁶ J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: a Handlist', *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), pp. 90-5; and idem, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976).

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9084, f. 64v (Acre c. 1286); Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 142, f. 49v (Acre 1287).

⁸ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 142, *Histoire d'Outremer*, f. 28r., 36r. (beginning of book 4 and 5). L.M.C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 1, *France, 875-1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), no. 53.

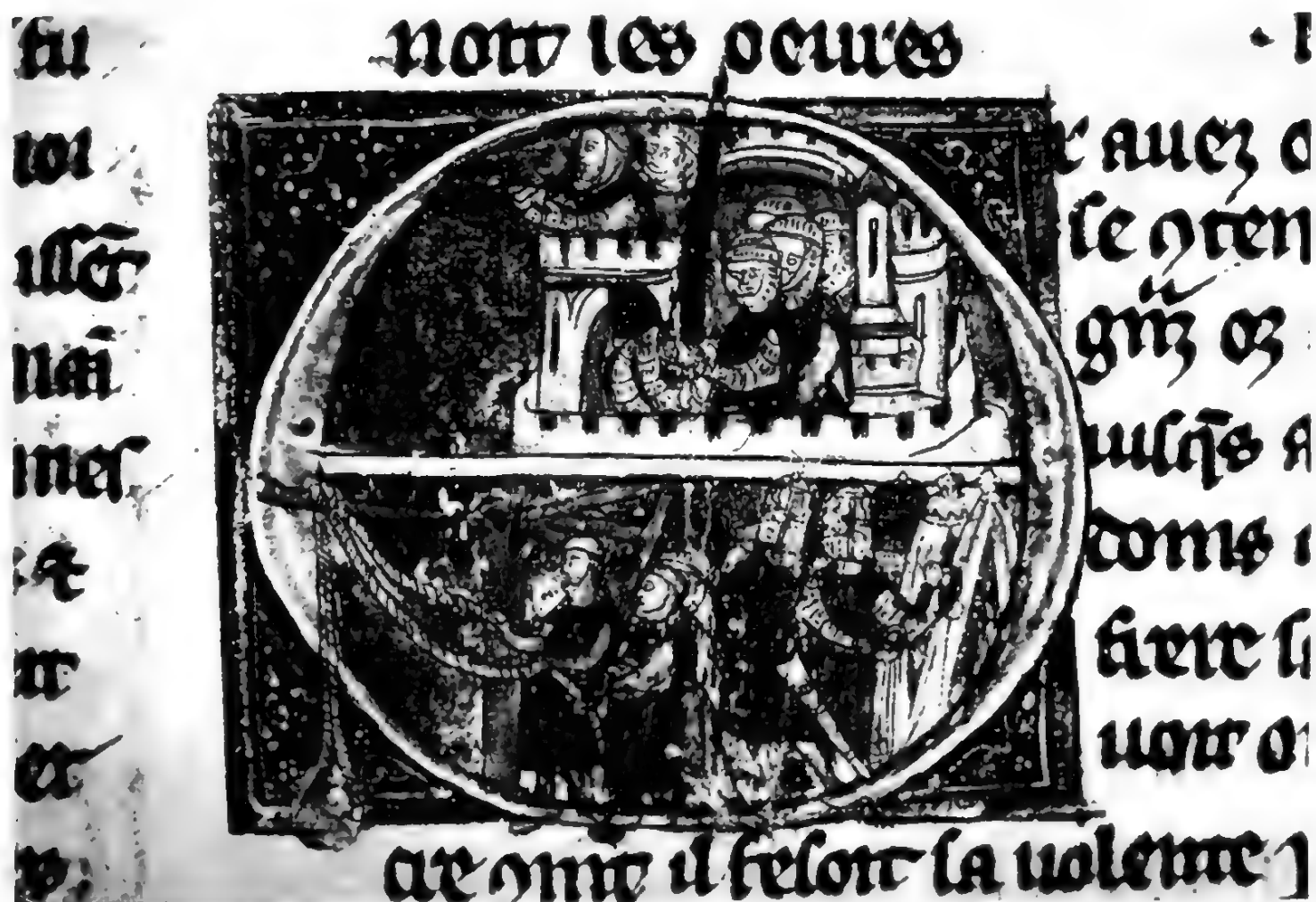


Fig. 1. Crusaders besiege Antioch (B IV, ch. 1). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 142, Guillaume de Tyr, *Histoire d'Outremer*, Paris, c. 1300, fol. 28r

city. The secret of the transaction was well kept. Bohemond assembled the crusading army and led it from the town. The Turks within the city saw them go and expected a quiet night, but in the middle of the night the army turned back to the city-walls. A ladder was placed against the tower where Firouz was waiting for them, and one after the other some sixty knights climbed up and entered the tower through a window. From this tower the Christians took over other towers, thus enabling other knights to scale the walls. The crusaders then opened the city gates for the rest of the army, and they massacred all the Turks that they saw, including Firouz's own brother. No Turk was left alive in Antioch, and the houses of the citizens, Christians as well as Muslims, were pillaged, but Antioch was Christian again⁹.

William of Tyre's account of the conquest of Antioch is somewhat different. Here Firouz kills his own brother because the latter prefers the Turks to the crusaders. The second *Histoire d'Outremer* initial in the Baltimore manuscript illustrates this episode (*Fig. 2*). In the upper half

⁹ S. Runciman, *The First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 173-7.



Fig. 2. Firuz prepares to kill his own brother / Crusaders enter Antioch
 (B V, ch. 1). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 142, William of Tyre,
Histoire d'Outremer, Paris, c. 1300, fol. 36r

Firouz kills his brother while the crusaders advance to the city, and in the lower part the crusaders enter Antioch through a gate opened from within by compatriots.

The attitude with respect to Muslims differed greatly in the Crusader States and western France. The knights in the Crusader States had a more sober and realistic view of their Muslim neighbours. In the West though, far removed from contact with Muslims, a fierce hatred existed and fanciful tales were told about them. Consequently, the Saracens were considered as pejorative adversaries and often conventional visual signs were used to designate the Saracen enemy¹⁰. Heraldry was the first means to signal this bad connotation. The crusaders usually carry regular shields displaying realistic heraldic arms, often a cross, while the Turks use round shields with unfavourable blazons such as snakes. Sometimes the Saracen's faces have been blackened. The motif of the black Saracen does not occur in manuscripts illustrated in Acre, but the presence of black figures on the ramparts was not uncommon in later Western codices. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the image of the black warrior for the exotic enemy remained firmly established in French iconography¹¹.

The Siege of Antioch in Flemish Manuscripts

The essential element in most Western representations of the conquest of Antioch by the crusaders during the First Crusade is that the city was taken by scaling. Knights climbing ladders are also depicted on a Flemish miniature illustrating the siege of Antioch in Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* (Mirror of History). Maerlant's world chronicle in Middle Dutch, which spans the period from the Creation up to the conquest of Jerusalem during the First Crusade, was based on Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*. Maerlant elaborated on Vincent's account of the First Crusade and refers to this period as a 'Golden Age',

¹⁰ See S. Luchitskaya, 'Muslims in Christian Imagery of the Thirteenth Century: The Visual Code of Otherness', *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 12 (2000), pp. 37-67 and 10 figs. Unfortunately Luchitskaya does not distinguish between manuscripts produced in the East and the West.

¹¹ Surprisingly enough, this motif disappeared around 1360. See J. Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, II, *From the Early Christian Era to the 'Age of Discovery'*: I, *From the Demonic Threat to the Incarnation of Sainthood*; II, *Africans in the Christian Ordinance of the World (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)*, ed. L. Bugner (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1979), esp. II, pp. 65-71.

for the situation in the Holy Land had changed since¹². When Maerlant wrote the *Spiegel* in the late 1280s, the Muslims had reconquered Jerusalem and the last Christians would be forced to leave the Holy Land soon, after the fall of Acre in 1291.

The only extant illustrated manuscript of Maerlant's *Spiegel Histori-ael* was manufactured in Flanders in the first decades of the fourteenth century¹³. The miniature illustrating the siege of Antioch (*Fig. 3*) shows crusaders scaling the city-wall, while others make a breach in the wall to enter the city. A besieged Turk blows the horn and three ladies in a palace look in despair at the fighting knights. Maerlant describes how the ruler of Antioch called Cassiaen (a Middle Dutch corruption of the name Yaghi-Siyan) escapes but is found by some Armenians, who kill him at once and present his head to Bohemond. The crusaders are amazed by the long beard and the mixed white and black locks of his hair. The miniature shows a separated head, which seems to have both black and white locks of hair, lying amidst the fishes in the river Orontes. The corpse to which this head belongs is about to be thrown from the city-wall. Nevertheless, both the location of the head in the water and the lack of a long beard may be indications that no link with the story of Cassiaen's head is intended here¹⁴.

Two gigantic commanders stand on either side of the besieged city. Their huge posture symbolizes their role as leaders of the assault. They do not bear shields, but they can be identified by the arms on their clothes and *ailettes*. The commander on the right bears the arms of Flanders (a black lion on gold) and therefore must represent Robert, count of Flanders. The leader on the left bears 'gules a fess argent', which refers

¹² Maerlant added information from Albert of Aachen's *Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis*. See J. Janssens and M. Meuwese, *Jacob van Maerlant — Spiegel Histori-ael: De miniaturen uit het handschrift Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX* (Leuven, 1997), pp. 160-71.

¹³ For a facsimile edition of the miniatures in the *Spiegel Histori-ael* manuscript see *ibid.*; and for a detailed analysis of the iconography see M. Meuwese, *Beeldend vertellen: De verluchte handschriften van Jacob van Maerlants Rijmbijbel en Spiegel Histori-ael* (PhD thesis, University of Leiden, 2001).

¹⁴ Krijnie Ciggaar kindly informed me that the *Chanson d'Antioche* relates how the Norman crusader Renaud Porcet was beheaded by the Turks on the walls of Antioch. Porcet's head was catapulted into the besieging crusaders' army and started smiling when the bishop of Le Puy picked it up. The laughing head of the crusader found its way into an exemplum of Etienne de Bourbon (d. 1261). This event, which is not related by Maerlant, does not seem to explain the separate head lying in the river, either. Perhaps it symbolizes the cruelties of the siege in a more general sense.

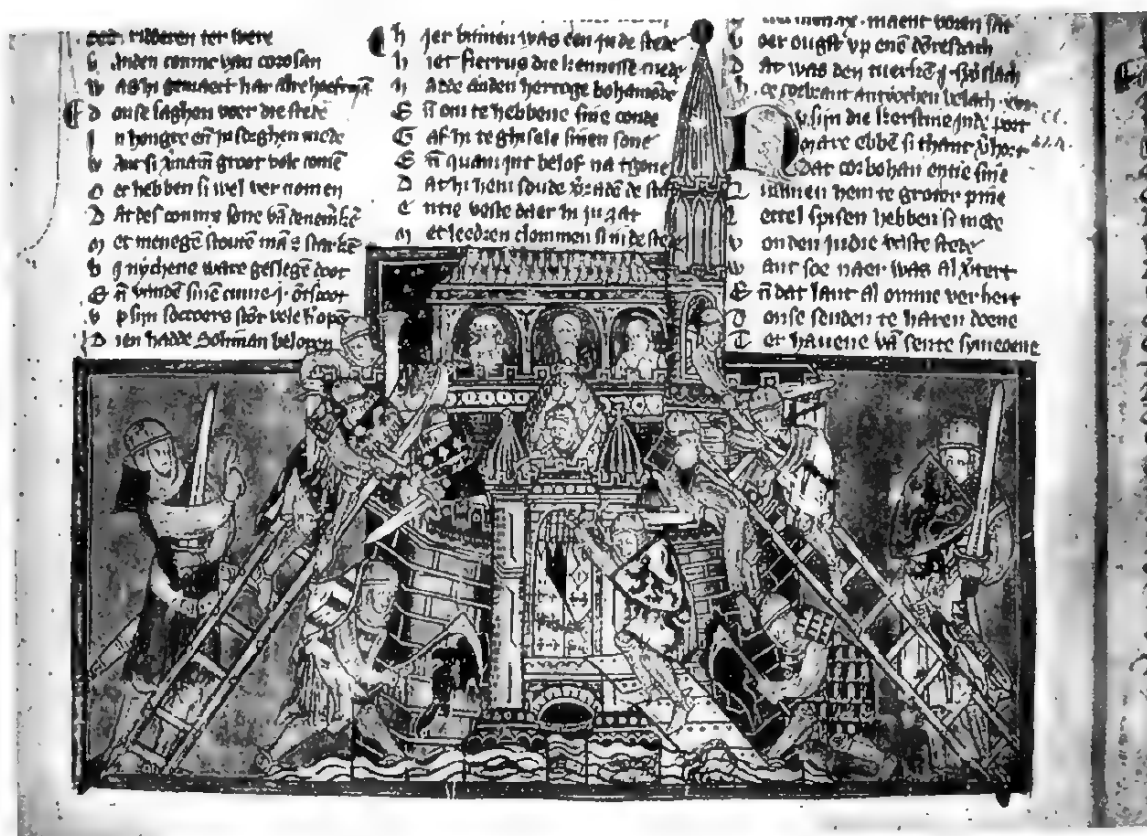


Fig. 3. The siege of Antioch. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiael*, Flanders (Ghent), c. 1310-1330, fol. 253v

to the house of Bouillon, and hence must represent Duke Godfrey. It is remarkable that Godfrey is not represented here with the arms of Jerusalem (argent a cross potent between four crosslets or), since these arms are common for him in the popular and widespread tradition of the Nine Worthies. Furthermore it is surprising that Godfrey is explicitly highlighted in this miniature, since he did not play an important role in the siege of Antioch at all.

Thus the crusaders gained control of Antioch, but they were barely able to install themselves in the city before Corbohan and his army arrived. The former besiegers in their turn were laid siege to by the Turkish troops of Corbohan. There was not enough food in the city and the crusaders' morale sank, when suddenly a so-called relic of the Holy Lance was found in St Peter's Cathedral in Antioch. This 'miraculous discovery' was probably a forgery, but this suspicion was not voiced by the leaders, as the finding of the relic of the Holy Lance so heartened the Christians that no-one wished to spoil its effect. Strengthened by this sign of divine favour, the crusaders decided to do battle with the Turks on the plains before the city. The crusaders were even more encouraged by a vision of a company of knights coming from the hills

on white horses and holding white banners. The leaders of this white army were immediately recognized as St George, St Merkourios, and St Demetrios. Encouraged by this marvellous sight, the crusaders rallied, and at the end of the day, against all expectations, the victory was theirs.

A second miniature in Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* depicts this battle on the plains of Antioch (*Fig. 4*). The crusaders are riding from left to right and confront the Turkish army galloping from right to left. This is a common rendering for battle scenes, where the winning party usually rides into the picture from left to right. Robert of Flanders and Godfrey of Bouillon can be recognized in the *mêlée*, the latter jousting with Corbohan, which is also a common visual device to represent the leaders of both armies. Maerlant describes how Robert and Godfrey were lucky to lay hands on a horse, while most of the crusader army was fighting on foot. The painter of this miniature stuck to the iconographical convention of representing both armies on horseback, though. On the extreme right of this miniature is shown how the Turkish army flees in the end.

The final miniature in this *Spiegel Historiael* manuscript shows the siege of Jerusalem in 1099 (*Fig. 5*). The crusaders succeeded in setting foot on the walls of Jerusalem with the help of a siege tower, as is accurately shown on the miniature. In the centre of the image Count Robert of Flanders climbs a ladder. Not only does he take a prominent place in this miniature, he even seems to have literally pushed out of the picture the very leader of this siege, Godfrey of Bouillon, who was to become the first Christian ruler of Jerusalem after the capture of the city.

On the left of the besieged city of Jerusalem stands an army of white knights commanded by St George, who can be identified by his halo and his traditional arms of a red cross on a white shield. Maerlant does not mention any divine assistance at the siege of Jerusalem whatsoever, and it therefore seems likely that the illuminator was responsible for incorporating the episode of the white army led by St George at the battle of Antioch into the miniature showing the conquest of Jerusalem. This may be an error, since the episode of the white army appearing to the crusaders at Antioch is written close to the miniature showing the siege of Jerusalem, which may have confused the miniaturist. The *Legenda Aurea* mentions that St George was leading the crusaders when they assaulted the walls of Jerusalem, but this seems to have been rather an individual act, since no mention is made of an army of white knights. Maerlant does



Fig. 4. Battle on the plains of Antioch. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiae*, Flanders (Ghent), c. 1310-1330, fol. 254v

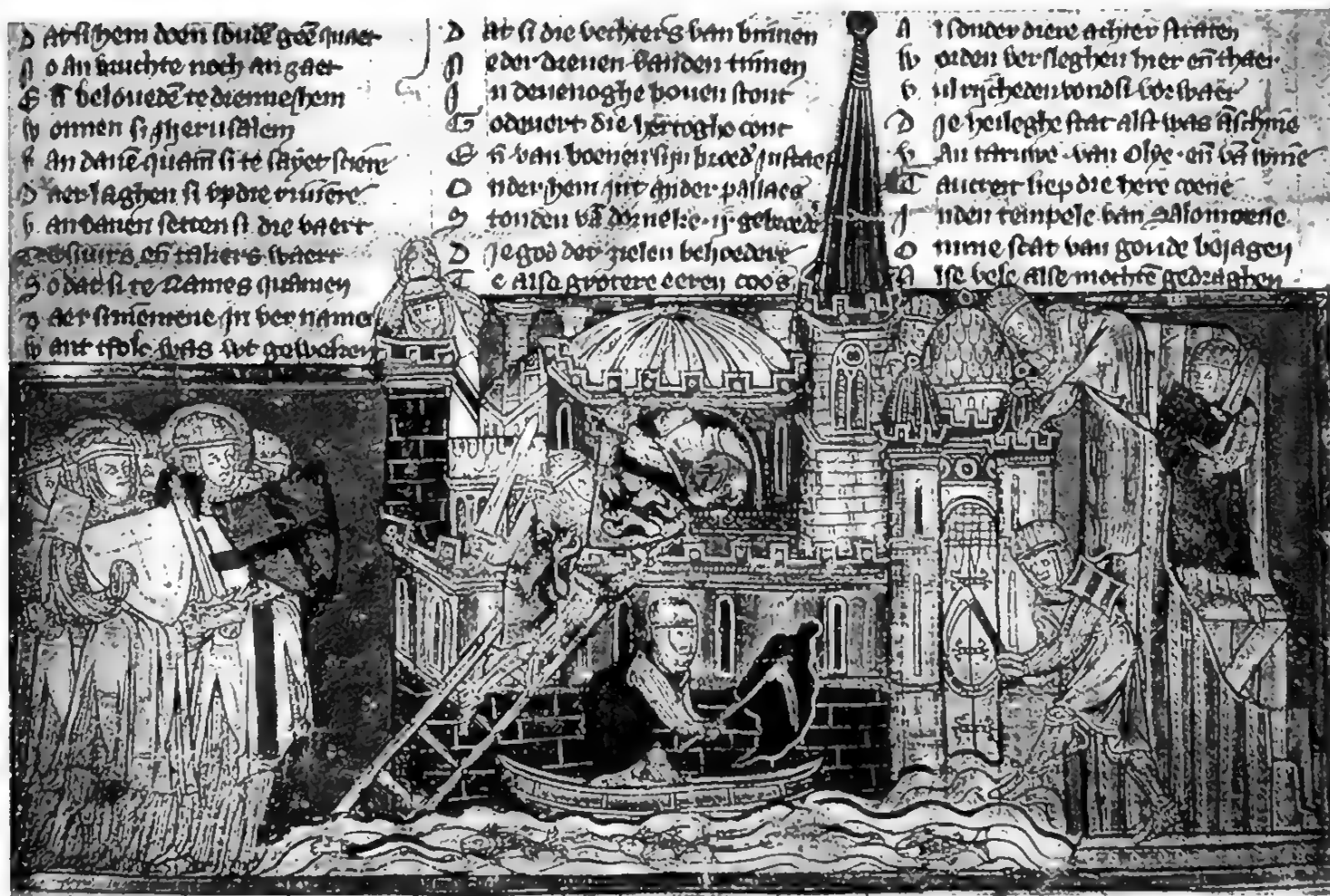


Fig. 5. Siege of Jerusalem with the assistance of St George. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiae*, Flanders (Ghent), c. 1310-1330, fol. 255r

not mention St George appearing at Jerusalem, and thus it seems most likely that the miniaturist mixed up both battles in this final image¹⁵.

It is worth noticing that another Flemish miniature shows a map of Jerusalem, below which St Demetrios and St George are pursuing Saracens on horseback (*Fig. 6*)¹⁶. This full-page illustration was made at the beginning of the thirteenth century and heads a psalter that was produced for the Abbey of Saint-Bertin¹⁷. St George does not have a halo here, but his identification is secure because of his arms and his name in the inscription ('scs Georgius'). The presence of both saints chasing Saracens on the battlefield unmistakably refers to the battle of Antioch. Under this image a short text on Jerusalem is written. Thus in both Flemish images the appearance of St George with his white army at the battle of Antioch and the conquest of Jerusalem have been united in one image.

¹⁵ See the entry in the *Legenda Aurea* on St George on 23 April (Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, transl. and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1969), pp. 237-8): 'We read in the *History of Antioch* that during the Crusades, when the Christian hosts were about to lay siege to Jerusalem, a passing fair young man appeared to a priest. He told him that he was St George, the captain of the Christian armies; and that if the crusaders carried his relics to Jerusalem, he would be with them. And when the Crusaders, during the siege of Jerusalem, feared to scale the walls because of the Saracens who were mounted thereon, Saint George appeared to them, accoutred in white armour adorned with the red cross. He signed to them to follow him without fear in the assault of the walls: and they, encouraged by his leadership, repulsed the Saracens and took the city.'

¹⁶ St George is accompanied by St Demetrios and St Merkourios in the Latin *Gesta Francorum*, and by St Maurice as well in the *Chanson d'Antioche*; see Edgington, 'Romance and Reality' (see n. 3), pp. 37-8, 44. Edgington, pls I-II, reproduces two English stone tympana in Damerham (Wiltshire) and Fordington (Dorset) dating from the first half of the twelfth century, where the traditional dragon that St George defeats has been replaced by a Saracen. For images of St George heading the Christian troops in French mural painting see P. Deschamps, 'La légende de Saint Georges et les combats des croisés dans les peintures murales du Moyen Age', *Monuments et Mémoires (Fondation Eugène Piot)*, 44 (1950), pp. 109-23, esp. pp. 112-4. For St George assisting the Christian army against the Saracens in an Arthurian context, see M. Meuwese, 'Inaccurate Instructions and Incorrect Interpretations: Errors and Deliberate Discrepancies in Illustrated *Prose Lancelot* Manuscripts', *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society*, 54 (2002), pp. 319-44.

¹⁷ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 5, fol. 1r; reproduced in colour in M. Smeyers, *L'art de la miniature flamande du viii^e au xvi^e siècle* (Leuven, 1998), p. 78 fig. 31. Huon de Saint-Quentin's *Complainte de Jérusalem* was added to this manuscript in the late thirteenth century. Alison Stones dated the miniature to the early thirteenth century on stylistic grounds. See A. Stones, 'Les débuts de l'héraldique dans l'illustration des romans Arthuriens', in *Les armoriaux*, ed. H. Noyau and M. Pastoureau (Paris, 1998), pp. 395-420, esp. p. 403, p. 412 n. 65.

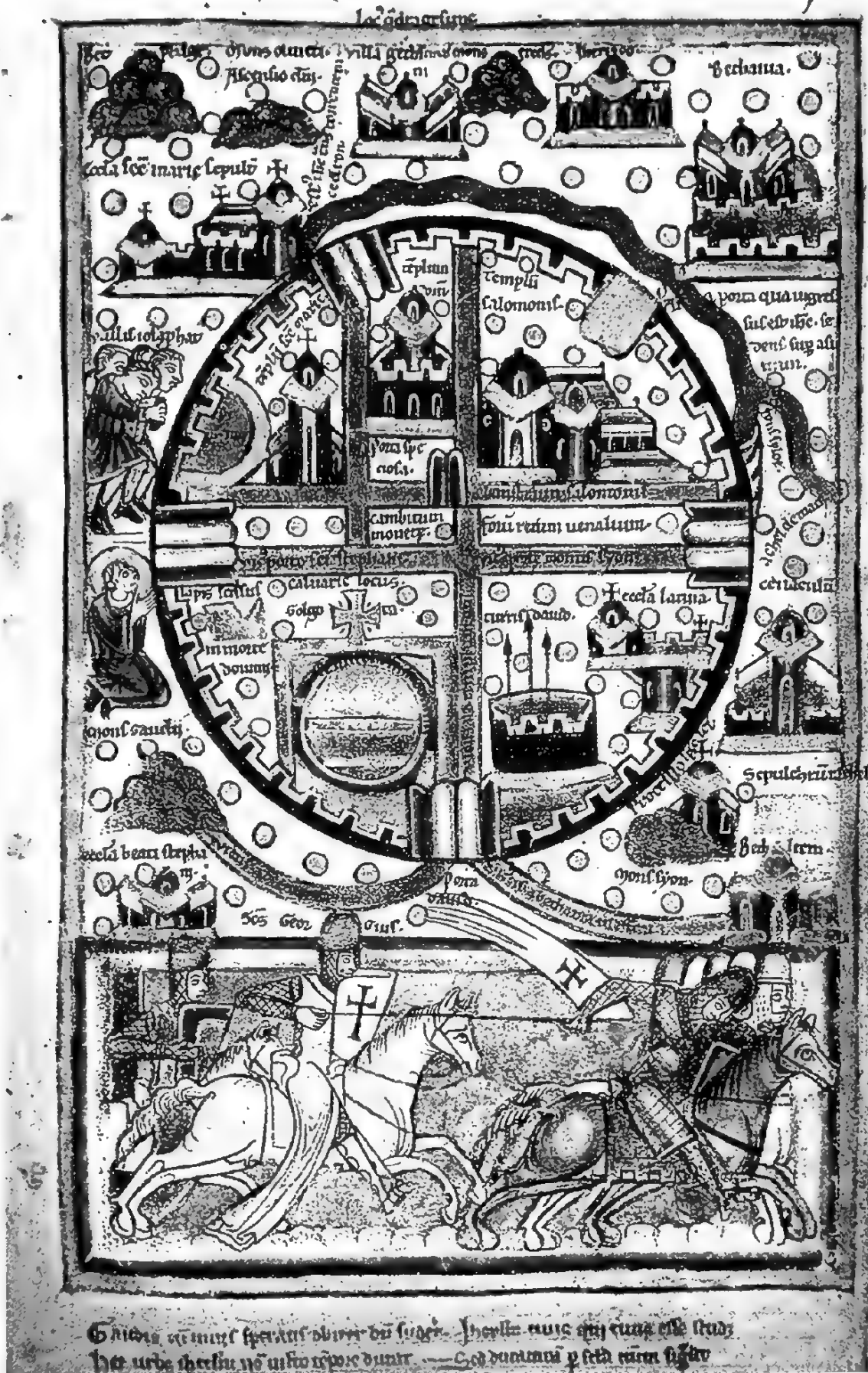


Fig. 6. Map of Jerusalem with St George and St Demetrius pursuing Saracens below. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 5, Flanders (St Bertin), c. 1200, fol. 1r

A heavenly army of white knights has also been depicted in Flemish early fourteenth-century Apocalypse manuscripts. The Apocalyptic army, symbolizing the saints and the church, is described as being clothed in pure and white linen, and riding white horses¹⁸. This white army will battle against the Antichrist and his followers. The visualization in these Flemish manuscripts of the Apocalyptic army as white knights with the arms of St George also explicitly seems to refer to the crusaders fighting the Saracens in the Holy Land¹⁹.

The above-mentioned *Spiegel Historiae* miniatures depicting the conquest of Antioch and Jerusalem during the First Crusade present the count of Flanders as one of the main heroes conquering the Holy Land. Actually, the role of Robert, count of Flanders, was not as prominent as suggested in these miniatures. The highlighting of a Flemish count in the images is not surprising though, as this manuscript was manufactured in Flanders, most likely in Ghent, where the counts of Flanders resided. Hence these crusading images should also be considered as a kind of political propaganda in which the exploits of an ancestor of the Flemish count are praised. Thus the readers of this manuscript are urged to follow his example in a new crusade²⁰.

The Siege of Antioch and Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis (1081-1151)

Apparently the First Crusade lent itself particularly well to such political propaganda. The walls of several twelfth and thirteenth-century French churches display paintings with unspecified scenes of crusaders

¹⁸ Apocalypse 19:11-16: 'And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse... and the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.'

¹⁹ See *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold, 800-1475* (Leuven, 2002), p. 241: 'the painter does not mean only to look back to the vision of St John, or forward to the final destination; at the same time he intends to elucidate contemporary reality. The many red crosses refer unequivocally to the crusades. In this sense, the miniature also provides a portrait of the Knights of Christ who seek to liberate the Holy Land under his leadership.'

²⁰ According to Jessica Dobratz an illustrated Burgundian manuscript of William of Tyre dating c. 1460 fulfilled a different function at the Burgundian court. Here the aim was not a call to arms. Instead of an overseas crusade the purpose of this manuscript was to satisfy local political issues of propaganda and legitimization. See J. Dobratz, 'Conception and Reception of William of Tyre's 'Livre d'Eracles' in 15th-century Burgundy', in *Als Ich Can: Liber Amicorum of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, 1, ed. B. Cardon et al. (Leuven, 2002), pp. 583-609.

on horseback led by St George, but not of the city of Antioch itself. In the twelfth century Abbot Suger used the First Crusade as a topic for a stained glass window at Saint-Denis, functioning as a sort of recruitment poster to attract new crusaders. Circa 1145 it was considered necessary to repel the Saracens who were gaining terrain in the Holy Land. A new crusade should provide the Christians in the East with auxiliary troops. King Louis VII participated in this Second Crusade (1145-9), appointing Abbot Suger as steward of France during his absence.

Suger fervently devoted his activities to increasing the prestige of French royalty, and the crusade window can also be considered in this context. Unfortunately the window has not survived, for it was destroyed during the French Revolution. Suger did not describe this window in his inventory of 1146-7, which sometimes has been taken as evidence for a later date for the window, although it will have been executed before Suger's death in 1151. Thanks to Bernard de Montfaucon's elaborate early eighteenth-century study *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, the window can for the greater part be reconstructed²¹. In the early eighteenth century the window was situated in the choir of the abbey church of Saint-Denis. Montfaucon reproduces ten scenes, of which two or perhaps three scenes are devoted to the history of Antioch during the First Crusade. The specialist in medieval French painted glass windows, Louis Grodecki, assumes that the window originally must have contained fourteen scenes²². Possibly four scenes had already been lost by the time Montfaucon studied the window, or perhaps they were so badly damaged that he excluded them from his description. In the course of time the sequence of the roundels was mixed up, but the original order can be more or less reconstructed with the help of the inscription in each roundel.

The inscription of the first roundel that might be related to Antioch, reproduced in 1729 as an engraving in Montfaucon's book, reads: 'VINCUNTUR PARTI'. It depicts the crusaders defeating Soliman either at Dorylea (31 December 1097) or under the walls of Antioch (6 February 1098). The composition of this glass roundel is similar to one of the enamel medallions of the Stavelot triptych at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This enamel on the earliest surviving reliquary of

²¹ B. de Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, 5 vols (Paris, 1729-33), vol. I.

²² L. Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis: Étude sur le vitrail au xii^e siècle* (Paris, 1976), pp. 115-21.

the True Cross shows Emperor Constantine and his soldiers defeating Maxentius²³. The composition of the Saint-Denis window thus appears to follow a widespread convention for depicting battles. Less well known than Montfaucon's engravings, but probably more reliable in terms of rendering the details of Suger's lost medieval crusade window, are the designs on which the engravings were based. These designs are kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris²⁴.

The second Saint-Denis roundel showed the siege of Antioch (*Fig. 7*). Again it is visually emphasized that the city was taken by means of scaling. The inscription labels the city as 'ANTIOCHIA'. It is evident here that the design is more reliable than the engravings published by Montfaucon. The eighteenth-century engraver apparently corrected the designs to his own artistic standards, as he added shading in the composition, a feature entirely absent in Romanesque art. Thus the shield of the knight on the ladder on the right and the round shield of a Saracen on the city-wall get merged into one odd black shadow.

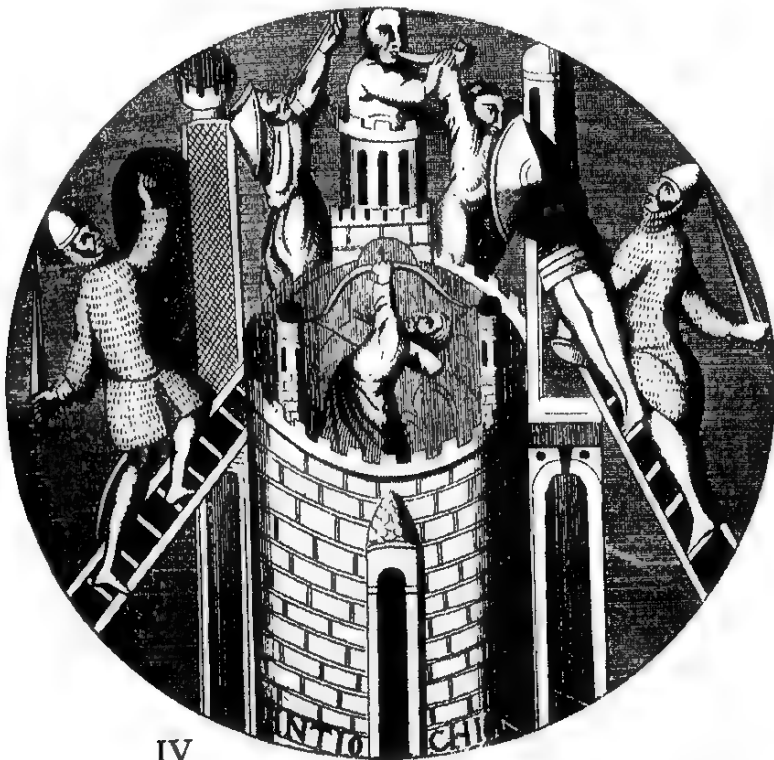
The last roundel depicting a scene related to Antioch shows the crusaders fighting against Corbohan on the plains of Antioch, a scene already encountered in the Maerlant manuscript. The inscription of this roundel says: 'BELLUM INTER COBARAM ET FRANCOS'. The engraver of the design apparently did not know the name of the Muslim prince, and mistook the B for the characters 'IP', thus writing 'COIPARAM'. Furthermore, the symbolic appearance of the Turkish leader with a long beard has probably not been understood by the engraver, who carelessly changed him into a beardless soldier.

Antioch and King Henry III of England (1216-72)

The history of Antioch not only fulfilled a political role in Flanders and France. In England the topic also proved very suitable for political purposes. Since the thirteenth century St George has been the patron saint of England. Hence representations of St George in English wall-painting, especially in connection with his intervention at Antioch,

²³ *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross*, ed. W. Voelke and C. Ryskamp (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1980). The Stavelot Triptych is unique for uniting in a single work of art Eastern and Western (Byzantine and European) iconographic traditions of the Legend as they existed in the middle of the twelfth century.

²⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 15634.



IV

Fig. 7. Engraving by Montfaucon (1721) of former Antioch window at St Denis (c. 1150)

should have been particularly appropriate, but no artistic examples of this scene survive²⁵.

According to the royal accounts, in 1250 the master of the Knights Templar in London, called Roger de Sandford, was commanded to hand over a large book kept in his house in order to enable Edward of Westminster, one of the painters of King Henry III, to decorate the queen's

²⁵ E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1950), pp. 184-5.

room at Westminster Palace²⁶. This book, written in French and said to contain 'the deeds of Antioch and of the King and others', must have been either a copy of *La chanson d'Antioche* or of the *Histoire d'Outremer* with a continuation into the thirteenth century²⁷. We do not know whether the painter at Westminster Palace decorating the 'Antioch chamber', as it was later called, relied exclusively on the information provided by the text of this book or whether he drew his inspiration from miniatures adorning it²⁸. The Antioch chamber was completely painted, but hardly anything survives as the palace of Westminster was destroyed by fire in 1834.

Apparently the history of Antioch was a favourite subject of King Henry III. In 1251 he ordered the painting of three more 'Antioch chambers' in other residences: one at Winchester, one at Clarendon, and another in the Tower of London. It is a great artistic loss that none of these rooms have survived the centuries.

Of all the palaces of Henry III, the one of whose configuration we can now form the clearest idea, is Clarendon Palace near Salisbury²⁹. The Antioch chamber at Clarendon was a large rectangular structure, indicated as 'the king's chamber under the chapel'. Of the character of the compositions in the Antioch chamber at Clarendon we know next to nothing. On 2 July 1251 Henry gave orders to paint the chamber with

²⁶ P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London, 1986), p. 111.

²⁷ D. Jacoby, 'Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean', in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), pp. 158-86; at p. 170 the author assumes that this manuscript contained the *Histoire d'Outremer* with a continuation into the thirteenth century since one of these manuscripts refers to Antioch in its incipit: 'Ci comence l'estoire dou conquest de la terre d'Antyoche et dou reiaume de Jerusalem.' Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting* (see n. 25), p. 184, however, assumes that this book, containing the 'Gests' of Antioch, was a manuscript of *La chanson d'Antioche*, as that was a famous *chanson de geste*. The crusade cycle was occasionally combined with the *Roman d'Alexandre*, another favourite topic of Henry III. For such a manuscript see K. Busby, 'Mythe et histoire dans le ms. Paris, BNF, fr. 786: La conjointure du Cycle de la Croisade et du Roman d'Alexandre', in *Guerres, voyages et quêtes au Moyen Age: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Claude Faucon*, ed. A. l'Abbé, W. Lacroix and D. Quérueil (Paris, 2000), pp. 73-81. The *Chanson d'Antioche* cycle only covers the First Crusade though, whereas it is likely that Henry's manuscript also dealt with the Third Crusade (see below).

²⁸ Jacoby, 'Knightly Values' (see n. 27), p. 170 n. 72: 'The influence of miniatures is unlikely, as the earliest illuminated manuscripts of William of Tyre's continuations were produced, it seems, in the late 1270s.' Binski, *Painted Chamber* (see n. 26) p. 156, n. 57, assumes that the manuscript was illustrated though.

²⁹ T.B. James, A.M. Robinson, *Clarendon Palace: The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Palace and Hunting Lodge near Salisbury, Wiltshire*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 45 (London, 1988).

'the story of Antioch and the duel of King Richard'. Apparently, 'the story of Antioch' in the terminology of Henry III's records means the history of the Third Crusade (1189-92), in which Richard Lionheart participated, but where Antioch was not actually one of the main pivots of action. Furthermore, Richard even went nowhere near Antioch. Perhaps pictures of both the First and the Third Crusade were joined in the same room.

The 'duel of King Richard' refers to the single combat in which Richard I supposedly fought Saladin. In reality Richard Lionheart and Saladin never met, let alone vied with each other in single combat. Yet Henry III's commission indicates that a legendary tale of Richard I unhorsing Saladin in a joust had become well established by the mid-thirteenth century³⁰. Simon Lloyd assumes that Henry had in mind the deeds of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, in the First Crusade³¹. Yet I consider it unlikely that Henry explicitly commanded the duel of King Richard when he meant a depiction of Duke Robert fighting Kerbogha before Antioch. It also would make more sense if Henry's illustrious predecessor King Richard would be highlighted in the royal palaces.

During the excavations of Clarendon Palace in 1938, a tile found elsewhere on the site was thought to depict King Richard I and Saladin in combat. It was removed and exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1939, but has since disappeared. The tile was set vertically on the face of a 'bench' and was decorated with a pair of mounted knights charging each other. Tile specialist Elizabeth Eames does not accept the specific identification as the combat between Richard and Saladin though, assuming instead that it concerns a general motif of knights in combat.

Contemporary floor tiles found at Chertsey Abbey depict scenes from the legend of Tristan, but two Chertsey tiles that evidently do not belong

³⁰ See M. Strickland, 'Provoking or Avoiding Battle?: Challenge, Duel and Single Combat in Warfare of the High Middle Ages', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 317-43. For a discussion of the development of the literary motif of Richard's combat with Saladin see R.S. Loomis, 'Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin', *Medieval Art: Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 30 (1915), pp. 509-25.

³¹ S. Lloyd, 'King Henry III, the Crusade and the Mediterranean', in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones, M. Vale (London and Ronceverte, 1989), pp. 97-119, esp. pp. 102-3. Lloyd seems to contradict himself when he states on p. 107 that Henry commemorated the deeds of Richard I and wanted to be a new Lionheart.

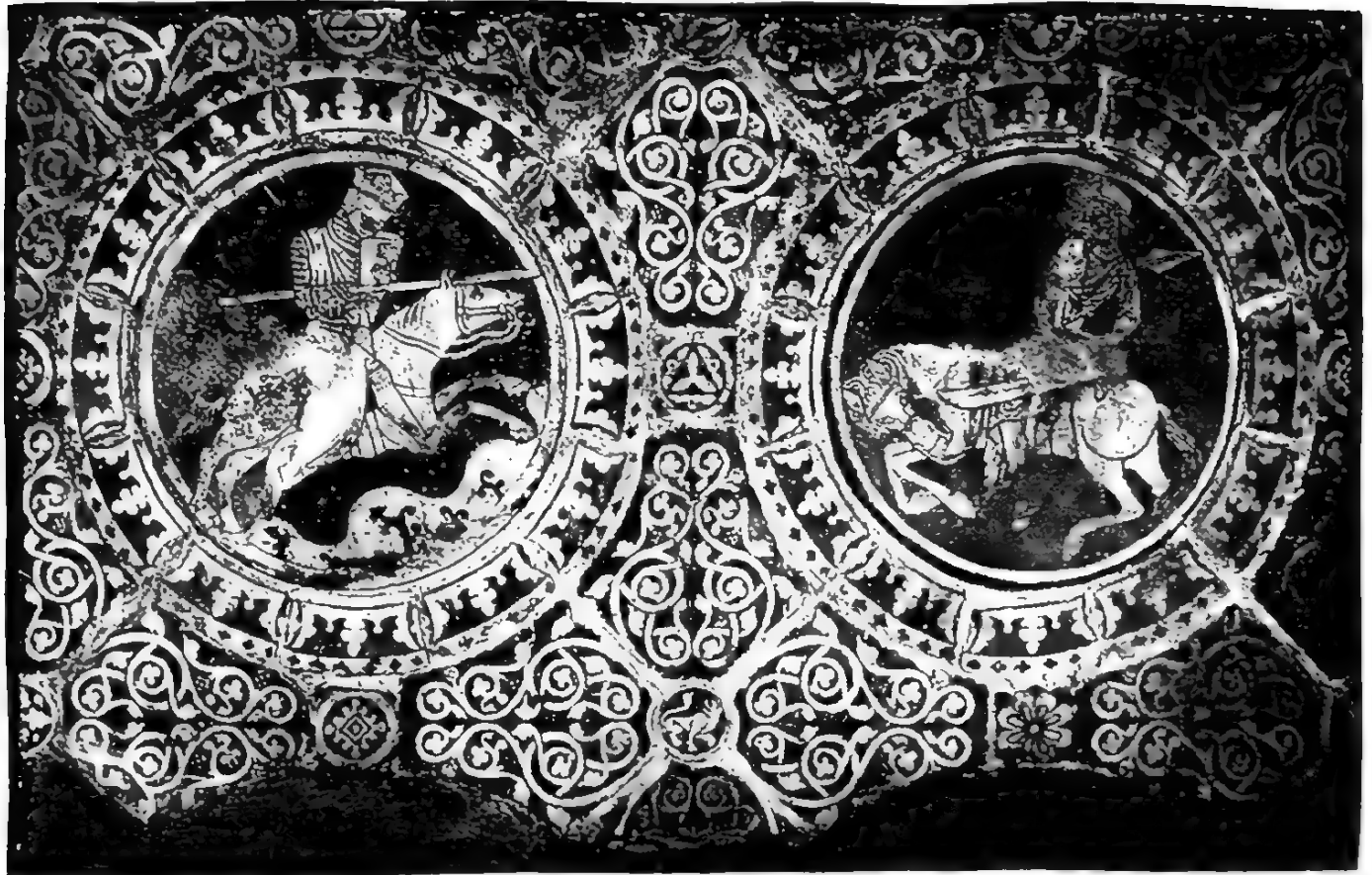


Fig. 8. Duel between Richard Lionheart and Saladin. London, British Museum, Chertsey tiles, England, c. 1250

to the Tristan series, show Richard Lionheart and Saladin in combat (*Fig. 8*). Richard, identified as king of England by the three leopards of England on his shield and the crown on his helmet, charges Saladin with a lance. Saladin drops his curved scimitar as he is pierced by Richard's lance, his horse collapsing under him³². The current crown motif around Richard and Saladin probably was not originally used to frame the roundels. Since there exist segmental tiles with letters making words such as 'REX RICARDUS', these probably surrounded the tiles. Although these Richard and Saladin tiles were found at Chertsey Abbey in 1852, it is considered more likely that they were designed for a royal palace, perhaps Henry's palace at Westminster.

A similar composition is depicted in the margins of the famous English fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter³³. Bearing the arms of England on his shield, a knight charges at full speed with his couched lance and unhorses a black-faced Saracen whose shield bears a Moor's head. Little

³² See, for example, M. Shurlock, *Arthurian and Knightly Art from the Middle Ages* (Dyfed, 1989) pp. 78-81, 117-8; and *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), no. 16.

³³ J. Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1989), p. 59.

bells adorn the caparison of the Saracen's horse. These jousting knights are popularly identified as Richard Lionheart and Saladin. The conduct of King Richard during the Third Crusade inspired chroniclers and poets to praise his knightly virtues. But Western knights were also impressed by Saladin's personality and sought an explanation for the chivalrous behaviour of this 'good pagan' in his dealings with Christians. Although from a historical perspective this combat never happened, it clearly bears the ideological message of a confrontation between West and East, of Christian and Muslim, in which the Christian knight is always the victor.

In 1240 Henry's brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, went to the Holy Land as a crusader, and in 1248 the French King St Louis set out on crusade. In 1250 King Henry III and many nobles of England with certain bishops took the Cross³⁴. These events must have been fresh in the mind at the time when the paintings of the Antioch chambers were executed. The selection of crusading subjects for the decoration of several royal apartments thus shows a king looking to the past for inspiration and to dynastic models for his own anticipated deeds in the East³⁵. His rival Louis IX was captured in the Holy Land in 1250 and it seems that King Henry began to regard himself as the only possible saviour of the Latin East³⁶.

It can be concluded that the visualization of the siege and conquest of Antioch during the First Crusade was very popular during the Middle Ages in Western Europe, particularly for ideological and political purposes. The patrons of these works of art were very proud of their ancestral crusading deeds. Not only were these 'historic' events depicted to encourage beholders to participate in a new crusade, but they also offered an outstanding opportunity to praise heroic ancestors who had successfully done so before, whether in France, Flanders, or England.

³⁴ Henry took the Cross in 1251 but delayed his departure for six years. Long delays prior to departure were common. Richard of Cornwall took the Cross in 1236 and departed in 1240, and Louis IX also spent four years preparing for his crusade. See Lloyd, 'King Henry III' (see n. 31), p. 100.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

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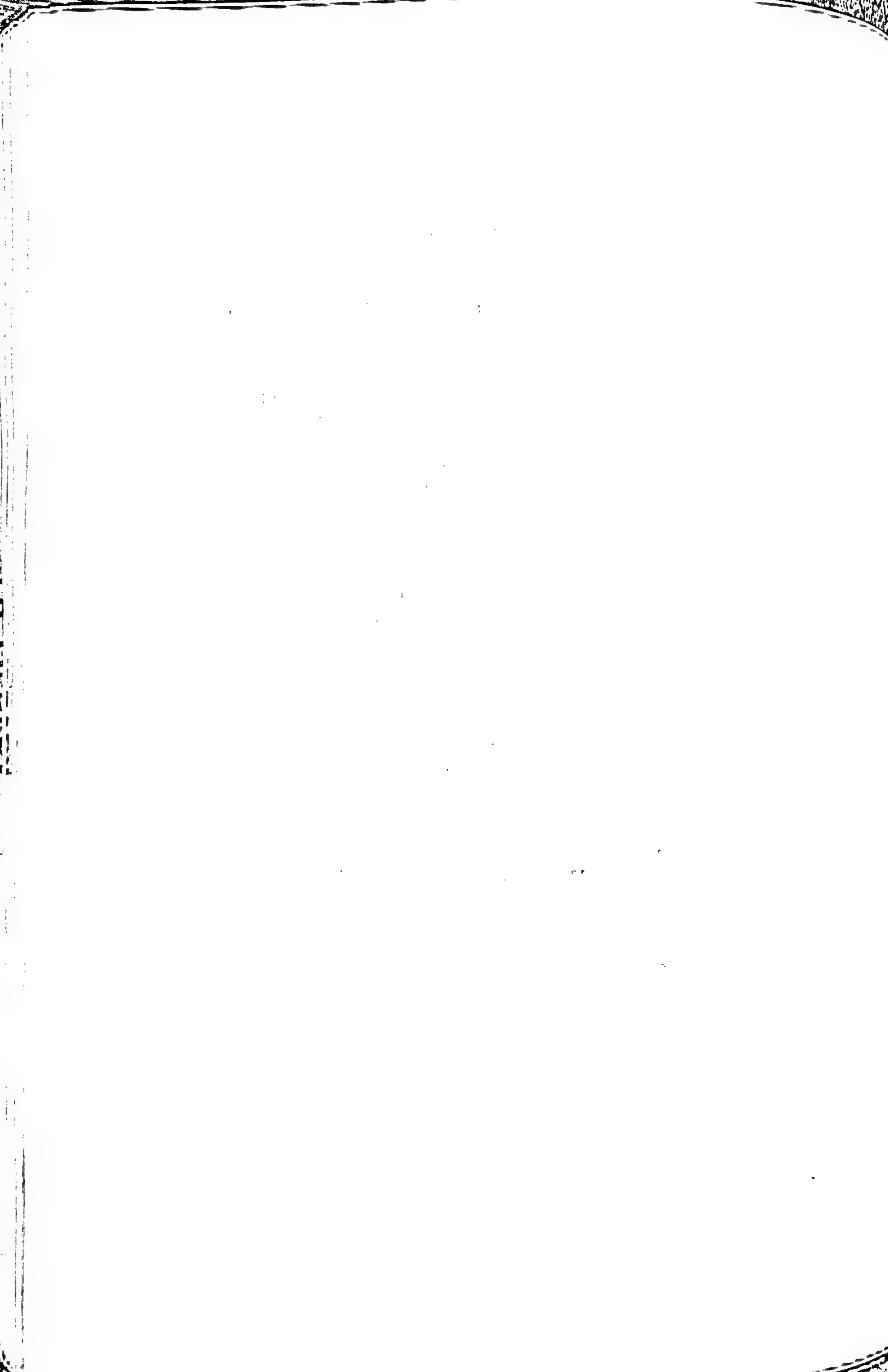
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